

Volume IV.

The Sermons of John Donne



SIR EDWIN SANDYS 1st
BARONET OF
NORTHRIDGE, KENT

SIR EDWIN SANDYS

From a portrait at Severn End, Hanley Castle, Worcestershire; reproduced by kind permission of Sir Ronald Lechmere, 5th Bart.

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THE
SERMONS
" "
OF
JOHN DONNE
" "

*Edited,
with Introductions
and Critical Apparatus, by*
GEORGE R. POTTER
and
EVELYN M. SIMPSON

In Ten Volumes

IV.

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Prefatory Note

THIS VOLUME contains the sermons preached by Donne during his first year and a half as Dean of St. Paul's, from the beginning of 1622 to the middle of 1623. For the first time he had become a figure of national importance, and his sermons were eagerly heard. The period was a troubled one politically, and feeling ran very high over the vexed question of the Spanish marriage proposed for Prince Charles. I have decided that for this one volume it is best to replace our usual type of Introduction by one which gives a bird's-eye view of the historical background of the time, and a brief sketch of the London which Donne knew and to which he preached. I have drawn largely on such contemporary documents as Chamberlain's *Letters*, Arthur Wilson's *History of...the Life and Reign of King James the First*, Donne's own *Letters to Several Persons of Honour*, the *Familiar Letters of James Howell*, and the translated manuscript of the Venetian Ambassador, Orlando Busoni. I am also indebted to such recent historical works as D. H. Willson's *James VI and I*, and Wallace Notestein's *Four Worthies*, which includes an admirable account of John Chamberlain and his circle.

My warmest thanks are due to Lord and Lady Sandys, who allowed me to examine their portraits of Sir Edwin Sandys and of other members of the Sandys family at their family seat at Ombersley Court, Worcestershire. I must also thank the Librarians of Christ Church and of Merton College, Oxford, for their kindness in allowing my assistant Mrs. Holtby and myself to collate at leisure their quartos of the three issues of the sermon on *Judges* 5.20 (No. 7 of this volume) and the two editions of that on *Acts* 1.8 (No. 10). The collations of the quartos in the libraries of Harvard, Yale, and Huntington were made by George Potter, who was also responsible for the collations of the Wilfred Merton manuscript for Sermons 1 and 3, while those of the Ellesmere and St. Paul's Cathedral were made by myself. I have found Mrs. Holtby's help of the utmost value in preparing the text of this very difficult volume. I am also most grateful to Miss Elizabeth Wade White, who procured for me the engraving which

Prefatory Note

is here reproduced of the portrait of James Hay, first Earl of Carlisle, which was formerly in the possession of the Earl of Kinnoull.

My thanks are extended also to Mr. Richmond Maury, President of the William Byrd Press, of Richmond, Virginia, and to Mr. John Jennings, Director of the Virginia Historical Society, for making possible our reproduction of the portrait of Sir Edwin Sandys: it is from a photographic negative, now in the possession of the Virginia Historical Society, which was used in preparing a plate for *A Memorial Volume of Virginia Historical Portraiture*, edited by A. W. Weddell. And I am indebted to Sir Ronald Lechmere, Bart., of Severn End, Hanley Castle, Worcs., for permission to use this copy of the original portrait, which is in his possession.

EVELYN M. SIMPSON

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Introduction

IN THIS volume we see Donne installed in the Deanery of St. Paul's. He had now entered the most important phase of his life as a priest and preacher, and during the remaining nine years he was to be fully occupied with the duties of his office.

The cathedral in which Donne preached was not the present one, which was built by Wren after the Great Fire of London in 1666, but "Old St. Paul's," the medieval building which was begun about 1087, and was altered and enlarged during several centuries till it was declared complete in 1315.¹ It stood on the same site as the present building, high above the Thames, and it was a striking feature in the skyline of Tudor and Stuart London, as we can see in Visscher's *View of London* (1616) and in Hollar's engraving of London (1647) which is reproduced in Volume VI of our edition, page 28. The height of its square tower made it conspicuous, even though the spire which had previously adorned it had been destroyed by lightning in 1561. Stow² gives the length of the old cathedral as 720 feet, the breadth as 130 feet, and the height of the body of the church as 150 feet, while the height of the steeple had been 520 feet. In the midst of the churchyard there was "a Pulpit Crosse of timber, mounted upon steppes of stone, and covered with leade, in which are sermons preached by learned Divines every Sunday in the forenoone."

In Donne's time divine Service was held in the choir, which was fenced off from the rest of the Church. The nave had become the great meeting-place of Londoners. Merchants wearing their hats transacted business in the aisles, and lawyers received their clients. Gallants walked up and down in their finery, while masterless serv-

¹ This medieval church stood on the site of one erected earlier by Ethelbert, King of Kent, who had been converted to Christianity by the preaching of Augustine, sent by Pope Gregory the Great to Kent in 597. The city of London dates back to Roman times, and it is probable that in the third and fourth centuries there were a few Christian churches of which all traces have been destroyed.

² *Survey of London* (ed. Kingsford), I, 327. Stow also gives much information about the chapels, the cloister, and the churchyard.

ingmen sat on a bench waiting to be engaged to a new master. The noise in the nave must have been disturbing to worshippers in the choir, and the prevailing irreverence penetrated there, so that Donne had frequently to rebuke members of his congregation for their refusal to kneel in prayer or to take off their hats.³

The fabric of the cathedral had been considerably damaged, and in 1620 a fresh attempt was made to raise funds to repair it. On April 1, 1620, Chamberlain wrote to Carleton: "On Sonday in the afternoone the King came in pompe to Paules Crosse, where the bishop of London preached upon a text geven him by the King . . . the better halfe of the time (beeing above two howres) he spent in a pathetricall speech for the repairing of Powles. After the sermon the King had a banquet in the bishops house, where he moved the Lord Maior and aldermen to undertake the worke, protesting (as the bishop had touched in his sermon) that he could be content to fast with bread and water to see yt don."⁴ In one of the sermons of the present volume⁵ Donne alludes to this visit of the King to launch the appeal: "In the eighteenth year of his reign, *Josiah* undertook the *reparation of Gods house*; If we apply this to the *Josiah* of our times, I think, in *that* year of *his* reign, he *visited this Church*, and these wals, and meditated, and perswaded the *reparation thereof*."

Cathedral services began daily at 5 o'clock in summer and 6 o'clock in winter.⁶ On Sundays, Morning Prayer with sermon was held at 9 A.M., Evening Prayer with sermon at 2 P.M. in the winter and 3 P.M. in the summer. The Holy Communion was administered on the second Sunday of the month at St. Paul's, and also on the great feasts. Sermons were provided also on Tuesdays and Thursdays, but Donne had no obligation to preach on these days, as a special lecturer was appointed for this purpose. When Donne became Dean, the lecturer

³ Vol. VII, No. 12, lines 643-659; Vol. IX, No. 1, lines 467-481, and No. 5, lines 773-825.

⁴ *Letters*, II, 299.

⁵ Pp. 247-248.

⁶ The Visitation articles of 1559 prescribe for cathedrals a service at these hours. The hours seem to have remained the same throughout the earlier part of the seventeenth century. In parish churches Morning Prayer was said at 7 A.M. or 8 A.M. and might be followed by Litany and Holy Communion.

was Dr. Francis White, who was made Dean of Carlisle towards the end of 1622. Chamberlain describes him as "Dr. White a goode old man our learned lecturer for these two or three yeares in Paules."⁷

The Chapter over which Donne presided as Dean contained five Archdeacons, a Chancellor, a Treasurer, a Precentor, and thirty prebendaries.⁸ For the choral part of the services there were twelve minor or petty canons, six vicars choral, and a number of choristers. It should be clearly understood that the Dean's authority was confined to the Cathedral and its precincts. The Dean was subordinate to the Bishop of London, who had his episcopal chair (*cathedra*) in the Cathedral, and who administered the whole vast diocese, which then included not only London itself, but also the rest of Middlesex, and the county of Essex, and part of Hertfordshire. The Bishop held his ordination services in the Cathedral, and could preach there whenever he wished. He had the patronage of many livings, and he was a member of the House of Lords as a Lord Spiritual. He had a fine palace at Fulham, and his income was much larger than that of the Dean. The Dean, in fact, was a decidedly minor personage as compared with the Bishop,⁹ and his influence depended largely on his

⁷ *Letters*, II, 451.

⁸ Stow, *Survey*, II, 137. Stow calls the Precentor "a Chaunter," and describes the Archdeacons as exercising their functions over the five districts of London, Middlesex, Essex, Colchester, and St. Albans. In the nineteenth century the constitution of the Cathedral was altered, and four residentiary canons were appointed. See W. Sparrow Simpson, *Registrum Statutorum et Consuetudinum Ecclesiae Cathedralis Sancti Pauli Londinensis* (London, 1873), Introd., p. xlvi. See also W. R. Matthews and W. M. Atkins, *A History of St. Paul's Cathedral* (London, 1957); the whole of chapter ii should be read, and particularly pp. 154-162.

⁹ An interesting side-light is thrown on this by Chamberlain. In 1621, King James desired to appoint John Williams, Dean of Westminster, as Lord Keeper, but the Law Lords objected strongly, and James decided to make Williams Bishop of Lincoln as well as Lord Keeper. Chamberlain writes: "On Monday the Deane of Westminster was sworne of the counsaille . . . He was in great forwardnes on Sonday to have the broad-seale delivered him and to be made Lord Keper, which is but deferred till his *congé d'eslire* be returned, and he consecrated bishop of Lincoln, for the greatest exception taken against him by the Lords was that so meane a man as a deane shold so sodainly leape over all their heades . . ." (*Letters*, II, 383, date June 23, 1621).

own personality and his ability as a preacher. In the pulpit of St. Paul's he had an opportunity to sway the minds of a large number of the most important citizens of London, and Donne soon proved that he could make good use of his position.

The rapid growth of Donne's popularity is shown in this volume by the considerable number of outside sermons which he was invited to preach. It is also reflected in the lively letters of John Chamberlain, who had at first greeted Donne's appointment with a jest about the turning of poets into deans,¹⁰ but on July 1, 1622, he wrote to Carleton with reference to June 23, "That afternoone our Deane made a very goode sermon in the church as he hath don divers of late with great concourse."¹¹

As Dean of St. Paul's Donne found himself at last in a position where he could regulate the plan of his sermons according to the Church's year. At Lincoln's Inn his sermons had been planned to conform to the four Law Terms—Michaelmas, Hilary, Easter, and Trinity; and since the Law Courts did not sit during the periods of the great Christian festivals, Donne had no opportunity to preach at Lincoln's Inn on Christmas or Easter Day.¹² He was obliged to plan his sermons in courses which might occupy five or six Sundays, or might be extended to occupy a whole year.¹³ But at St. Paul's he was required by statute to preach on Christmas Day, Easter, and Whit-sunday, and the *LXXX Sermons* Folio groups his sermons into those

¹⁰ *Letters*, II, 407–408: "... and then we are like to have our new Deane Dr. Dun at Paules, so as a pleasant companion saide that yf Ben Johnson might be made deane of Westminster, that place, Paules, and Christ-church, shold be furnished with three very pleasant poeticall deanes." This was written on November 17, 1621. Richard Corbet, the minor poet, had lately been made Dean of Christ Church, Oxford.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, II, 443. The sermon was No. 5 of the present volume.

¹² See W. Harrison, *Description of England* (appended to Holinshed's *Chronicle*, 1587), Bk. II, chap. ix. Harrison states that Michaelmas Term, known as "the long Terme," began on October 9 and ended on November 28. Hilary Term began on January 23 and ended on February 12. Easter Term began seventeen days after Easter (which is a movable festival) and ended four days after Ascension Day. Trinity Term began on the Friday after Trinity Sunday and ended on the Wednesday fortnight afterwards. The Long Vacation therefore lasted about three and a half months.

¹³ See Vol. II of our edition, pp. 39–41, and Vol. III, pp. 6–7.

preached at Christmas, Candlemas Day, Lent, Easter, Whitsunday, Trinity Sunday, and the Feast of the Conversion of St. Paul, together with the Prebend Sermons, and those on the Penitential Psalms.

The Church of England follows the practice of the Western Church in starting its year with Advent Sunday, four Sundays before Christmas. These Sundays have a dual purpose: they prepare Christians for the celebration of Christ's first coming as the Babe of Bethlehem, and they also point forward to His second coming for the Day of Judgement, and are therefore a time for penitence and self-examination.¹⁴ Then comes the joyful season of Christmas followed by Epiphany and the Sundays which succeed it, and in this period there are a number of feast days, among them the Conversion of St. Paul and Candlemas Day. This latter feast, which celebrates the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary, was marked by a procession of the Lord Mayor and Corporation of the City of London, accompanied by torchbearers, to St. Paul's, where they attended service and heard a sermon.¹⁵

After the Epiphany season there come the three Sundays of Septuagesima, Sexagesima, and Quinquagesima. These are intended to mark the transition from the joy of Christmas and Epiphany to the austerity of Lent, which opens on Ash Wednesday, a day of fasting and penitence for which the Book of Common Prayer provides a special service. During the forty days of Lent special services were provided at Court not only on Sundays but also on Tuesdays and Fridays.¹⁶ For most of the years of his ministry Donne was summoned by the Lord Chamberlain to preach before the King at Whitehall on the first Friday of Lent.¹⁷

Lent ends in Holy Week, which has special daily services for each weekday up to Good Friday. This is marked as a strict fast day, and is devoted to the contemplation of our Lord's crucifixion and death. Saturday is Easter Eve, and then on Easter morning the Church cele-

¹⁴ In Vols. V and IX we shall consider the possibility that the sermons on the Penitential Psalms were preached, some in Advent, and some in Lent.

¹⁵ Chamberlain, *Letters*, II, 602-603. See also Stow, *Survey*, II, 190.

¹⁶ Chamberlain refers to these weekday sermons in several letters, e.g., II, 433, 605.

¹⁷ In this present volume we have two such sermons, Nos. 1 and 13.

brates Christ's Resurrection with an outburst of joy. The Church of England requires all its adult members to communicate on Easter Day or within the octave of Easter. The Easter morning sermon at Whitehall during the years which we are considering was preached by the Bishop of Winchester (Lancelot Andrewes).¹⁸ Donne preached at St. Paul's his great series of Easter sermons, which together with his series of Christmas sermons may be held perhaps to represent his finest achievement as a preacher.

The forty days after Easter continue the joyful spirit of Easter Day, and they close on Ascension Day, which is always on a Thursday. The present volume contains two sermons preached by Donne on the Ascension Days of 1622 and 1623, both of them at Lincoln's Inn, the second of which was the Encænia Sermon for the dedication of the new chapel.

The third great festival of the Church's year is that of Whitsunday, which celebrates the outpouring of the Holy Spirit on the Day of Pentecost. Donne was again required by statute to preach at St. Paul's on this feast day, and we have a full series of sermons preached by him then. The Sunday following Whitsunday is Trinity Sunday, for which we have no sermons described as having been preached by Donne at St. Paul's, though we have one which was preached at Lincoln's Inn in 1620, and two which were preached at St. Dunstan's in 1624 and 1627. The reason for this is probably that on Trinity Sunday it is the usual custom for the Bishop of each diocese to visit his cathedral church and there to conduct an ordination service for the priests and deacons who are to minister in his diocese. The Bishop is accompanied by his chaplain or chaplains, and the Dean therefore finds himself free to visit some other church.

After this there comes the long procession of Sundays after Trinity, which may be as many as twenty-nine in number,¹⁹ if Easter happens to fall unusually early. During June Donne was usually in London,²⁰

¹⁸ Chamberlain, *Letters*, II, 309, 362–363, 470.

¹⁹ Collects, epistles, and gospels are provided for only twenty-seven Sundays after Trinity. If there are more than this number of Sundays, the requisite collects, etc., are provided from the Sundays after Epiphany.

²⁰ On June 14, 1622, he preached at Camberwell Church. We learn this from an entry in the diary of Edward Alleyn (Dulwich College MS IX).

but he spent July and August visiting his country parishes and staying with his friends. This country vacation was a great refreshment to him, even though he seems to have preached frequently throughout it. He usually returned to London in September and resumed his preaching at St. Paul's. Throughout the remainder of the Sundays after Trinity he was free to preach on any subject which he chose, and in two successive years (1626 and 1627) he delivered one of his Prebend Sermons within this period. Sometimes he was asked to preach the Gunpowder Plot Sermon on November 5, as he did in 1622, and he was asked to do so again in 1630, though he was too ill to comply with the request. It is likely that many of the undated sermons were preached in these autumn months, especially some of those on the Penitential Psalms.

No post could have suited Donne better than that of Dean of St. Paul's, the cathedral church of London. Donne was a Londoner born and bred. His father had been a prosperous ironmonger of the City, and his mother's family, of more aristocratic descent, had connections with the Court and the Law. Nearly all Donne's life had been spent in London, except for his three years' residence at Oxford and the shorter time which he had devoted to foreign travel.

The London of Donne's day was a comparatively small city, judged by modern standards. Its population in 1630 was approximately 130,000 without the out-parishes.²¹ It was, however, the largest city of the England of that date, when the total population was less than five million. It had two great claims to distinction: it was the seat of government, where the King reigned, and Parliament assembled, and it was the most important English seaport, to which ships of all nations resorted. Since the destruction of Antwerp in 1576 by Philip II of Spain, it had been the most prosperous of the North Sea ports, and it attracted shipping from the Baltic, northern Germany, Holland, and France, as well as from the Mediterranean ports and the Levant, and even from the East Indies. This cosmopolitan trade kept London in touch with the whole civilized world. The sailing ships of those days came often as far up the Thames as just below

²¹ In 1631 a census taken by the Lord Mayor gave the number as 130,178. See John Graunt, *Natural and Political Observations* (1676). If the out-parishes are included, the total appears to be well over 200,000.

London Bridge, and their sailors were seen in all parts of the city; not, as now, in its distant outskirts.

In Donne's day the river was the great thoroughfare of London. The city itself was a maze of narrow medieval streets and alleys, down which ran filthy gutters which finally poured their contents into the Thames. Most travellers preferred to use the wherries and barges which plied along the river. The banks were crowded with stairs for the boats, and the watermen were always ready to take passengers up the river to Westminster or down to Deptford or Greenwich. The King, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Mayor, and the City Companies all had their state barges for great occasions and lighter boats for ordinary use. There were many great houses on the river, and these had their stairs and boats for the use of their owners. John Taylor, the water poet of King James's reign, affirmed that there were two thousand small boats to be found about London, and that the number of the watermen and those that were maintained by them, and by the labour of the oar and scull, betwixt the bridge of Windsor and Gravesend could not be fewer than forty thousand.²²

Donne himself makes use of the limits of Windsor and Gravesend as places on the Thames above and below London in a long and curious simile intended to illustrate the dangers of the invocation of saints in the Roman Church: "Certainly it were a strange distemper, a strange singularity, a strange circularity, in a man that dwelt at Windsor, to fetch all his water at London Bridge: So is it in him, that lives in Gods presence, (as he does, that lives religiously in his Church) to goe for all his necessities, by Invocation to Saints.... They that come so low downe the streme, as wee said before, to London Bridge, they will go lower, and lower, to Gravesend too; They that come to Saints, they will come to the Images, and Reliques of Saints too; They come to a brackish water, betweene salt and fresh, and they come at last, to be swallowed up in that sea which hath no limit, no bottome, that is, to direct all their devotions to such Saints, as have no certainty, not onely not in their ability, we know not what

²² See *Shakespeare's England* (Oxford, 1916), II, 154, from which much of this information is derived.

those Saints can doe, but not in their history, we know not that such as they pray to, are Saints; nay, we know not whether they ever were at all.”²³

The importance which Londoners ascribed to their river is well illustrated by a story which is variously told of Queen Mary Tudor or of King James. In the latest version “it is said that James was so much annoyed at the refusal of the City of London to lend him the sum of £20,000 that he threatened to move Parliament, the Law Courts and the royal court to Winchester or Oxford. The Lord Mayor in reply observed that the merchants of London would in that event have one consolation—His Majesty could not take the River Thames with him.”²⁴

Twice a day the tidal wave from the sea still comes up to London Bridge, and its influence is felt above the Bridge as far as Teddington, nineteen miles higher up. This purifying rush, this ebb and flow, is one of the most striking features of the river. In Donne’s day the open sea was much nearer to the city, for it spread far over the Essex flats, most of which have now been reclaimed. In his profound sense of the value of the river to the life of London, Donne is akin to other great Londoners such as Spenser, who eulogized “the shore of silver streaming Thames” and “merry London, my most kindly nurse,” or Dickens, whose novels are haunted, as in *Our Mutual Friend*, by the grimmer aspects of the river, with its mystery, its sinister night traffic, its suicides, its murdered men. To Donne it was neither gay nor sinister, but a daily fact of immense importance. It was the great highway of traffic, the link with the Continent on one hand, and on the other with the English countryside, bringing wool from the Cotswolds, and grain and wood from Gloucestershire, Oxfordshire, Berkshire, and Buckinghamshire.

Most Londoners were intensely proud of their city. In 1615 Edmund Howes wrote: “What is he that hath any understanding, and knowes not London to be the most flourishing and peacefull cittie of Europe? of greatest antiquitie, happiest in continuance, most increased chiefe in prosperitie, and most stored with plentie:... your cittie filled more abundantly with all sorts of silkes, fine linnen,

²³ Vol. IX of our edition, pp. 321-322.

²⁴ D. M. Stuart, *London through the Ages* (London, 1956), p. 136.

oyles, wines, and spices, perfection of Arts, and all costly ornaments, and curious workmanship, then any other province: so as London well deserves to beare the name of the choicest storehouse in the world, and to keepe ranke with any royll cittie in Europe.”²⁵

If this seems extravagant, we can quote the praise of the Scottish Dunbar, who more than a hundred years earlier had written the well-known poem beginning “London, thou art of townes *A per se*,” which had as the burden of each stanza “London, thou art the flower of Cities all.” Old London was adorned by stately palaces and churches, many of which perished in the Great Fire. Few cities, if any, had such an impressive length of river front, along which the traveller could see in succession Westminster Hall and the Abbey, Whitehall, Durham House, where Raleigh had lived for many years, Somerset House, the name of which was changed by James to Denmark House, Essex House, Whitefriars, Bridewell (formerly a palace, but a prison in Donne’s time), Blackfriars, Baynard’s Castle, London Bridge, and the Tower. Behind these there ran many narrow streets, though there were a few wider thoroughfares such as Fleet Street, the showplace of the town, where puppets, naked Indians, and strange fish were exhibited, or Cheapside, sometimes called Goldsmiths’ Row, and styled “the Beauty of London.”

One of the pleasantest features of old London was the number of gardens and open spaces. Since Roman times there had been gardens at Walbrook, and we know from Shakespeare’s plays of the strawberries of Ely Place,²⁶ and the roses of Temple Gardens.²⁷

The opinion of all foreigners was not, however, so favorable to London as that of Dunbar the Scot. Orazio Busino, Chaplain to the Venetian Ambassador in London, gave it as his opinion that the Italian name of the city, *Londra*, should be changed to *Lorda*, filthy, on account of the black evil-smelling mud which was peculiar to its streets. This mud furnished the mob with a formidable missile whenever anything occurred to rouse their disapproval. Most foreigners conformed to the English fashion of dress, or adopted the French, which was used by the majority of courtiers and was too common to

²⁵ Stow’s *Annales*, continued by Howes (1615), “Epistle to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London.”

²⁶ *Richard III*, III, iv, 32.

²⁷ *I Henry VI*, II, iv, 27–127.

attract notice. The Spaniards alone disdained to wear any but their own dress, and as a result they were often assaulted. Busoni states that he himself had seen a "poor Don," for no other offense than his national costume, assailed by a termagant with a cabbage stalk, and obliged to take refuge in a shop from a hostile mob which she had collected.²⁸

In spite of this prevailing dirt Busino described London as "very noble, with handsome thoroughfares and well-supplied shops, each distinguished by its sign, like so many inns, and plenty of beautiful stone fountains, especially in the heart of the city." The water, however, he says, "is so hard, turbid, and foul, that its smell may be perceived in the linen which is washed with it." He much admired London Bridge, which he described as "a noble stone bridge, which on each side has a handsome row of shops, so that the traveller is not conscious of passing over the river at all." He did not like the Jacobean houses which had lately been erected. Most of them were made of wood and had no foundations, hence they were damp and cold. The staircases were spiral and inconvenient, the rooms were "sorry and ill-connected," and the windows were too narrow to look out of. Busino was a fair-minded man, and though he complained of the lack of sun and the mists and the rain, he yet admired the mild and springlike quality of the English climate, and its immunity from noxious insects.

Busino was one of the liveliest observers of the London scene in the days of Donne's ministry. He has left us an admirable account of two different London festivities: one of the Lord Mayor's Show, and the other of the performance at Whitehall of Ben Jonson's masque *Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue*, which inspired, at least in part, Milton's *Comus*.²⁹

²⁸ Most of this description is taken from *Harrison's... England*, ed. F. J. Furnivall for the New Shakspere Society, Forewords to Part II (1878), pp. 50*-52*, where Furnivall quotes Rawdon Brown's translation of portions of Busino's manuscript of *Anglopotrida*.

²⁹ Busino's account of the masque is quoted in full in the original Italian from the Archives of St. Mark's, Venice, in *Ben Jonson*, ed. Herford and Simpson (Oxford, 1925-1952), X, 580-585. For a translation of the accounts of the masque and of the Lord Mayor's Show see James Ford, *Quarterly Review*, CII (October, 1857), 398-438.

At Court, extravagance in dress was the order of the day. Donne's patron, Richard, third Earl of Dorset, wasted a large fortune on magnificent clothes, rich hospitality, and gaming. James Hay, Viscount Doncaster, later made Earl of Carlisle, was famous for his clothes and his hospitality. Of him Clarendon wrote that when he died in 1636 "he left behind him the reputation of a very fine gentleman and a most accomplished courtier; and after having spent in a very jovial life above £400,000 . . . he left not a house nor an acre of land to be remembered by."³⁰ Lucy Countess of Bedford and her husband the Earl were constantly in money difficulties. She inherited a fortune from her brother Lord Harrington, on whom Donne wrote a long elegy (*Poems*, ed. Grierson, I, 271-279), but in spite of this she was obliged to sell several of her estates. Wives of the rich London merchants also spent large sums on costly clothes, unless they belonged to the Puritan persuasion.

Enormous sums were spent from the royal exchequer on expensive entertainments which generally took the form of a masque. When Inigo Jones designed the scenery and Ben Jonson contributed the poetry, the result was a real work of art,³¹ but as James's popularity waned, and his exchequer became empty, citizens began to murmur at the expense of these magnificent spectacles which lasted for one or two nights only and were reserved for the privileged few.

The London of Donne's day was a city of violent contrasts. The stately houses of the nobles along the north bank of the Thames were within a short distance of the narrow alleys that ran between overcrowded and insanitary medieval dwellings, full of rotten timber and haunted by rats, which spread the plague in such epidemics as those of 1603 and 1625. There were a number of men employed as rat-

³⁰ According to Chamberlain (*Letters*, II, 57), Doncaster spent "more than 2200*li*" on the feast and entertainment which he gave to the Baron de la Tour, ambassador extraordinary for the Court of France, on February 22, 1617.

³¹ Within the period covered by the present volume (1622-1623) Ben Jonson's *Masque of Augurs*, with scenery by Inigo Jones, was performed at Whitehall on Twelfth Night, 1622, and repeated in an enlarged form one night in May of the same year. Jonson's *Time Vindicated*, also with scenery by Inigo Jones, was performed at Whitehall on Sunday, January 19, 1623. The bills for the costumes, which were extravagantly expensive, are still extant. See *Ben Jonson*, X, 636-637 and 650-651.

catchers, and their cries are mentioned in Richard Deering's madrigal of "London Cries."³² The streets were thronged with dogs, many of them stray animals, and these invaded the churches, so that it was one of the duties of the sextons to whip them out. The dismal howling of starving dogs was intolerable to the sick, and orders were made from time to time, as in 1583, that stray dogs and dogs that vexed their neighbours were to be destroyed, but in spite of a temporary improvement the nuisance still continued. "Many parishes supported a dog-killer of their own. St. Margaret's, Westminster, paid only a penny a dog, yet 656 were killed there in 1592, and 502 in 1603."³³

The London of the early seventeenth century was an unhealthy place. The mortality rate was generally much higher than the birth rate, and the population increased only because of the large numbers of country people who flocked to the city in search of employment. Epidemics swept the city at intervals of a few years. In the sixteenth century a disease known as "the sweating sickness" killed thousands of people in 1508, 1517, 1528, and 1551. In the seventeenth century there were outbreaks of the "spotted fever," from which Donne himself suffered, and more terrible still were the great plague epidemics of 1603, 1625, and finally that of 1665. In his sermon at St. Dunstan's on January 15, 1625/6, Donne gave a gruesome picture of the fearful mortality of the preceding months, and of the wild spirit of lawlessness and robbery which prevailed in many quarters.³⁴

Yet in spite of plague, spotted fever, typhoid, and other epidemics, the temper of Londoners was generally cheerful when once the disorder had passed. They loved shows, pageants, and entertainments of all kinds. They crowded the theatres and flocked to see the fights with bears and bulls at Paris Garden. Donne's son-in-law, Edward Alleyn, and Henslowe, the theatrical manager, controlled these sports from 1604 to 1611. Both Elizabeth and James encouraged bearbaiting, and arranged exhibitions of the sport for foreign visitors. The excited crowds bawled and howled the names of their favourite animals,³⁵

³² British Museum Add. MSS 29372-7.

³³ F. P. Wilson, *The Plague in Shakespeare's England*, p. 39.

³⁴ Vol. VI of our edition, pp. 359-360.

³⁵ George Stone, Harry Hunks, and Sackerson were three favorite bears. Shakespeare has immortalized Sackerson in *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, I, i, 265-272.

and Paris Garden became a synonym for noisy disorder. During the reign of Elizabeth and the first thirty years of the seventeenth century, Sunday in Southwark was devoted to this amusement, and the Privy Council defended it against the protests of the Puritan clergy. Moreover, James encouraged cockfighting, and appointed a royal cock-master. Books were written in honour of this sport, which lasted until the nineteenth century.

Dancing was very popular, except in Puritan circles. The Court had its galliards and corantos, while the citizens had jigs and hays, and morris dances for Mayday and Whitsuntide. The Maypole festivities took place in Cornhill, where the maypole, beflowered and beribboned, was drawn to its place by twenty or forty yoke of oxen, followed by crowds of men and women who "fell to daunce about it, like as the heathen people did at the dedication of the Idols," as Stubbes the Puritan lamented. Charles the First in his *Declaration to his Subjects concerning Lawfull Sports to be used* (1633) sanctioned Maygames, Whitsun ales, and morris dances, together with the setting up of maypoles, as "lawfull recreation after the end of divine service," thus continuing the authorization which his father had given in his famous *Book of Sports*. Prynne, on the other hand, in his *Histriomastix* (1633) laments: "How many are there that worke till they freeze, and yet dance till they sweat? that cannot worke or pray one houre in the day for sloath, and yet can dance nimblly day and night all the weeke long? that cannot walke twenty yards to Church on foot without the helpe of a Coach; and yet will dance 40. Galliards or Corantoes five hundred paces long?" (P. 256.)

The religious life of London was, however, very strong. The numerous churches were well filled with attentive worshippers, though some came only because attendance at certain times was enforced by the penal laws. Religious controversy was bitter and sustained between Protestants and Roman Catholics, and within the Church of England itself the division between High Churchmen and Puritans grew more and more acute during the years of Donne's ministry. Early in Elizabeth's reign the Marian exiles had returned from the Continent bringing back with them hopes of a much more intensive Reformation than had yet taken place. The Prayer Book of 1559 seemed to them dangerously Romish in many of its rites and

ceremonies. The exiles wished to introduce the "godly discipline" of Calvin at Geneva in place of government by "proud prelates," as they termed the bishops, but the Queen herself upheld the episcopal establishment, and Whitgift and Hooker argued eloquently in its favour. When James succeeded to the throne, these exiles hoped that he would introduce the Presbyterian form of church government which he had known in Scotland, but he quickly made it known that he liked his bishops and had no intention of replacing them by Presbyters or of abolishing the Prayer Book. As differences in the Church became more acute, a number of the "Non-conformitans," as Donne calls them, decided to emigrate to America, and the Pilgrim Fathers made their historic voyage to New England in the *Mayflower* in 1620. But during the years of Donne's ministry the majority of Puritans remained within the Church of England, and some of them held high office. Archbishop Abbot, for example, had strong Puritan sympathies, and John King, Bishop of London, was sometimes accused of Puritanism.

The Corporation of the City of London was very largely Puritan, though its members regularly attended in a body the services prescribed for them at St. Paul's at Christmas, Candlemas, Easter, Whit-sunday, and the like. On the intervening Sundays they probably went to their own parish churches, or else to a "little church or chappell up stayres" such as the one at Blackfriars where John Manningham³⁶ went to hear the well-known Puritan preacher Stephen Egerton, who wished to abolish the sign of the Cross in baptism and the giving of a ring in the marriage service.

Puritan preachers had a strong hold on most of the citizens, and it would be quite unfair to think of them as mere killjoys. They were inspired by a passionate earnestness which saw life as a preparation for eternity, and playgoing, dancing, bearbaiting and the like seemed to them part of the devil's stock in trade to blind men's eyes to the real purpose of life. Donne too was passionately earnest, and sometimes he expressed himself much as a Puritan might have done: "So, if when I startle and am affected at a blasphemous oath, as at a wound upon my Saviour, if when I avoyd the conversation of those

³⁶ Manningham, *Diary* (Camden Society, 1868), p. 101, entry for December 12, 1602.

men, that prophane the Lords Day, any other will say to me, This is Puritanicall, Puritans do this, It is a blessed Protestation, . . . Men and Brethren, I am a Puritan, that is, I wil endeavour to be pure, as my Father in heaven is pure, as far as any Puritan.³⁷

The citizens of Donne's day were indeed passionately interested in sermons.³⁸ The strong Puritan element exalted the preaching of the Word above the administration of the Sacraments. Sermons were inordinately long, judged by modern standards, and lasted one, two, or even three hours. Men moved from one church to another to hear different well-known preachers, and compared critically the soundness of the doctrines preached, and the style, eloquence, and fervour of the preacher. They took notes of sermons which they liked, and expanded them afterwards at length. Thus the diary of John Manningham, who was not a Puritan, contains summaries of more than forty sermons, and later in the century John Evelyn overloaded his diaries with a number of particularly dull sermons.

Donne disliked and condemned the habit of comparing and criticizing sermons. "You are here now, hearing me, and yet you are thinking that you have heard a better Sermon somewhere else, of this text before; you are here, and yet you think you could have heard some other doctrine of down-right *Predestination*, and *Reprobation* roundly delivered somewhere else with more edification to you: . . ."³⁹ Preaching at St. Paul's he declared: "Witnesses for Christ, require not *wonder*, but *belief*; we pretend not *miracles*, but propose Gods ordinary meanes; we look not for *Admiration*, but *Assent*. And there-

³⁷ Vol. IX, p. 166.

³⁸ It is perhaps worth noting that John Chamberlain, who was a moderate man without much religious fervour, criticized what seemed to him the superabundance of sermons: "...yt seemes we grow into a superstitious opinion of sermons as the papists do of the masse, that nothing can be don without them, insomuch that an ydle custome beeing lately brought up, that all Cheshire men about this towne, Staffordshire men, Northampton, Sussex, Suffolke (*et sic de ceteris*) shold have a meeting once a yeare at some hall and layeng their monie together have a feast, yt must not be don without a sermon; as likewise the Virginia companie had this weeke at Grocers Hall, where there have ben three or fowre of this kind within these ten dayes." (*Letters*, II, 408, letter of November 17, 1621.)

³⁹ Vol. III, p. 110.

fore forbear your acclamations and expectations of *wonderfull good preachers*, and *admirable good Sermons*. It was enough for *John Baptist* that even they confessed, that *all that he said was true*. Content thy selfe with *truths*, evident *truths*, *fundamentall truths*, let matter of *wonder* and admiration alone.”⁴⁰

In reading Donne’s sermons we need to think ourselves back into a world in which religion was for a man a matter of life or death. Christendom had been mortally threatened when Donne was a child by the advance of the Turks throughout eastern Europe. The great naval victory of Lepanto in 1571 had broken the power of the Turks at sea, but nearly all southeast Europe, once a stronghold of Christianity, lay under the Turkish yoke, and was to remain there till the nineteenth century. It was in peril of their lives that the Greeks and the Serbs continued to hold their Orthodox services and somehow maintained their little churches, though the finest were often turned into mosques. And farther west the bitter conflicts of the Thirty Years’ War showed how tragically Christendom was divided within itself. No state extended toleration to any form of religion which was not that of the Government. Catholics burnt Protestants in Mary’s reign, and Elizabeth’s government burnt Catholics, and Calvin in Geneva burnt Servetus the heretic. To all of them religion was so important that men had to be forced against their will into that form of religion which the Government upheld, and those who misled others had to pay the penalty with their lives.

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London in its various aspects provided Donne with most of his metaphors and similes. His legal training and his long association with Lincoln’s Inn gave him a knowledge of the jargon of the law-courts, and this intruded frequently into the *Sermons*, not altogether to their advantage. We read of a *non obstante* in God’s dealings with men, or of a *certiorari* or a writ of *præmunire*. God is the righteous Judge, who (unlike the human judges of James the First’s reign)⁴¹

⁴⁰ P. 152 of the present volume.

⁴¹ The great scandal of 1621, the year in which Donne became Dean of St. Paul’s, was the impeachment of the famous Lord Chancellor, Francis Bacon, and his condemnation on charges of having accepted bribes, but there were also many charges against minor officials. On February 27,

cannot be bribed or corrupted in any way. For one of his sermons⁴² Donne had taken as his text, "Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right?" and for two other sermons his texts were "I judge no man" and "The Father judgeth no man, but hath committed all judgement to the Son."⁴³ After he moved from Lincoln's Inn to St. Paul's he still continued to use this law-court imagery, though not in quite so much detail.

The King's Court provided him with a different set of images. He was a firm believer in the Elizabethan picture of a world hierarchy in which God was the Supreme King, with nine orders of angels as His attendant ministers and courtiers, and below them all creation descending through innumerable gradations, each race of creatures in its proper place.⁴⁴

Another aspect of London which was especially evident in and around St. Paul's was its position as a great trade centre, in which the Guildhall, the Exchange, the Mint, and the Halls of such City Companies as the Goldsmiths, the Cutlers, the Drapers, the Brewers, the Bakers, the Glaziers, were all conspicuous. Many of Donne's sermons contain metaphors of buying and selling, issuing

1620/21, Chamberlain wrote of the disgrace of "Justice Michell, who on Friday had his patent of alehouses taken from him and was sent to the Towre on foot (by expresse order,) overwearied and laden with disgraces," and of "one Churchhill a kind of register of the chauncerie throwne out beeing convicted of making many false orders" (*Letters*, II, 347).

⁴² Vol. III, No. 5, pp. 134-155.

⁴³ Vol. II, Nos. 15 and 16, pp. 311-334. These sermons are full of such passages as these: "And then as God is Judge in all these three respects, so is he a Judge in them all, *Sine Appellatione*, and *Sine judiciis*, man cannot appeal from God, God needs no evidence from man; for, for the Appeal first, to whom should we appeal from the Soveraign? Wrangle as long as ye will who is Chief Justice, and which Court hath Jurisdiction over another; I know the Chief Justice, and I know the Soveraign Court; . . ." (p. 317). "Now, as long as there lies a Certiorari from a higher Court, or an Appeal to a higher Court, the case is not so desperate, if the Judge doe not right, for there is a future remedy to be hoped: . . . But God is the Judge of all the earth; . . . and when he judges me, my Conscience turnes on his side, and confesses his judgement to be right" (Vol. III, p. 147).

⁴⁴ See Vol. I, pp. 207-208, and many other passages in succeeding volumes.

money, making a fortune, or becoming bankrupt in the spiritual sphere.⁴⁵ In this he was following the example of Christ, who spoke of the merchant who having found one pearl of great price sold all that he had in order to buy it, or of the Prophet Isaiah who proclaimed, "Come ye, buy and eat, yea come, buy wine and milk without money and without price."

Fresher and more imaginative are the similes which Donne drew from London's position as a great harbour for ships of all nations. He himself had been a voyager, and his congregation at St. Paul's must often have included sailors home from voyages to Antwerp or Hamburg, to Bordeaux or Marseilles, or even to Venice and the eastern Mediterranean, or perhaps the East Indies. He knew the language of the sailing ships, and used it in his sermons.

It is well with us, if we can ride out a storm at anchour; that is, lie still and expect, and surrender our selves to God, and anchor in that confidence, till the storm blow over. It is well for us if we can beat out a storm at sea, with boarding to and again;... It is well for us, if, though we be put to take in our sayls, and to take down our masts, yet we can hull it out; that is, if in storms of contradiction, or persecution, the Church, or State...be yet able to subsist and swimme above water, and reserve it selfe for Gods farther glory, after the storme is past;... He is a good Christian that can ride out, or board out, or hull out a storme, that by industry, as long as he can, and by patience, when he can do no more, over-lives a storm, and does not forsake his ship for it, that is not scandalized with that State, nor that Church, of which he is a member, for those abuses that are in it.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ See Vol. I, pp. 155-167, and see also p. 288 of the present volume: "...to make Christ able to pay this debt, there was something to be added to him. First, he must pay it, in such money as was lent; in the nature and flesh of man; for man had sinned, and man must pay. And then it was lent in such money as was coyned even with the Image of God; man was made according to his Image: That Image being defaced, in a new Mint, in the wombe of the Blessed Virgin, there was new money coyned; The Image of the invisible God...was imprinted into the humane nature. And then...as God, for the paiment of this debt, sent downe the Bullion, and the stamp,...and as he provided the Mint,...so hath he provided an Exchequer, where this mony is issued; that is his Church, where his merits should be applied to the discharge of particular consciences."

⁴⁶ Vol. III, pp. 184-185.

Discretion is the ballast of our Ship, that carries us steady; but Zeal is the very Freight, the Cargason, the Merchandise it self, which enriches us in the land of the living; . . . And as in storms it falls out often that men cast their Wares and their Fraights over-board, but never their Ballast, so as soon as we thought we saw a storm, in point of Religion, we cast off our Zeal, our Freight, and stuck to our Ballast, our Discretion, and thought it sufficient to sail on smoothly, and steadily, and calmly, and discreetly in the world, and with the time, though not so directly to the right Haven.⁴⁷

... as a Sea-Captaine receives a Ticket, to be opened when he comes to such a height, and thereby to direct his future course . . .⁴⁸

How many men, upon confidence of that flattering gale of winde, the breath and applause of the people, have taken in their anchors, . . . and as soone as they hoysed their sailes, . . . have found the wind in their teeth . . .⁴⁹

From the ships Donne turned to the sea itself, the mighty ocean from which he drew so much of his symbolism as a preacher. Again and again he spoke of the great deep on which the Spirit of God moved at the Creation, bringing life and order out of chaos.⁵⁰ This was a symbol of the chaos of darkness and sin in the soul, on which the Divine Spirit broods and brings forth life. Or again he speaks of "the stormes and tempests" which make the sea a symbol of the world and its afflictions.⁵¹

London was the centre of Donne's world. Here he had been born, and had spent his childhood, here he had been married, here he had found his vocation as a preacher, and here he was to die. London, dark and dirty, disease-ridden, plague-infested, was yet the focus of

⁴⁷ Vol. VI, p. 361.

⁴⁸ Vol. VIII, p. 265.

⁴⁹ Vol. VI, p. 305.

⁵⁰ Donne's Whitsunday sermon at St. Paul's for 1629 was devoted to this theme. (Vol. IX, No. 3.)

⁵¹ Vol. II, pp. 306-307: "The world is a Sea in many respects and assimilations. It is a Sea, as it is subject to stormes, and tempests; Every man (and every man is a world) feels that. And then, it is never the shallower for the calmnesse, The Sea is as deepe, there is as much water in the Sea, in a calme, as in a storme; we may be drowned in a calme and flattering fortune, in prosperity, as irrecoverably, as in a wrought Sea, in adversity; . . . All these wayes the world is a Sea, but especially it is a Sea in this respect, that the Sea is no place of habitation, but a passage to our habitations. So the Apostle expresses the world, *Here we have no continuing City, but we seeke one to come*; we seeke it not here, but we seeke it whilst we are here, els we shall never finde it."

the spiritual and intellectual life of England. To it came the riches of the nations; men thronged to it to exchange ideas, to find a career, to win fame and honour. In the churches, the theatres, the taverns, and the streets there was a mental vigour which puts to shame the London or New York of today. In Donne's lifetime London audiences saw the first production of the plays of Shakespeare, Marlowe, Ben Jonson, Beaumont and Fletcher, Webster, Middleton, Massinger, and Tourneur. The poems of Spenser, Sidney, Drayton, Daniel, Southwell poured from the printing presses, and before Donne died the young John Milton had written his *Nativity Ode*. As for the Church of England, it has never had a greater apologist than Richard Hooker, nor greater preachers than Lancelot Andrewes, Donne himself, and Jeremy Taylor, who made a name as a substitute preacher at St. Paul's very soon after Donne's death. The appearance of the King James version of the Bible in 1611 was a landmark in English prose. Bacon was one of the greatest of English prose writers, and also a pioneer of modern science. And the explorations and voyages of Drake, Hawkins, Frobisher, and Raleigh made possible the foundation of the colony of Virginia, and Captain John Smith's voyage to New England in 1614 prepared the way for the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers in 1620.

Donne himself was part of this throbbing vitality. Like all great preachers and orators he drew much of his nourishment from his audience. In his solitary study he worked out the framework of his sermons, but we shall never know how much of his eloquence came from the electric current which reached him from the vast crowd who listened to him. These men and women cared about religion. It was part of their daily life; it was an interest of absorbing concern. Their minds were not dulled by the constant impact of mechanical devices. Life was short for them, and death was near, as it is to all of us, though we do our best to forget it. Donne did not try to cheat them with utopias just round the corner in this world. He told them what he sincerely believed about God and Christ, about sin and failure and redemption. In many of those who heard him or talked to him—in Henry King, in George Herbert, in Izaak Walton, among many others—he struck a spark which kindled in them a flame of fire. This intercourse of mind with mind, of spirit with spirit, was for him one of the greatest things in life.

So London became to Donne not only the place where he lived and worked, the home to which he always turned, but a symbol and promise of the Eternal City, the community of the redeemed, the hope of the future. He knew full well, as he showed in the sermon on Lady Danvers,⁵² that the golden floor and pearly gates of the Apocalypse are but attempts to shadow forth something which is beyond the power of man to conceive. There was a life of the spirit in these hearers of his which made him call London "the holy City" as Christ called Jerusalem "the holy City," in spite of its sins and shortcomings.⁵³ We can trace in his mind the subconscious process whereby the New Jerusalem, the heavenly city, was thought of in terms of his own London, just as the exiled St. John on Patmos depicted it in terms of his little Jewish city. The earthly Jerusalem is an inland town, served by no great river, and St. John declared of the New Jerusalem "there shall be no more sea." To him it was a walled city with mighty gates, and such was also the vision of Bunyan, the Bedfordshire countryman who made his Christian a pilgrim along the ill-kept English roads with their deep sloughs, their briers and brambles, up the Hill Difficulty, through the Valley of Humiliation, to the Delectable Mountains, and at last to the river, which like Bunyan's own Ouse was a fordable one, for as Hopeful and Christian struggled through it, the one cried to the other, "Be of good cheer, my brother, I feel the bottom, and it is good." But for Donne the Londoner and the voyager there was no way but by sea to the city of his desire. As he wrote in his *Hymne to God my God in my sicknesse*, he was to sail through the narrow straits of death,

Per fretum febris, by these streights to die,

I joy, that in these straits, I see my West;
For, though theire currants yeeld returne to none,

⁵² Vol. VIII, No. 2, lines 685-710.

⁵³ Vol. VI, p. 359: "...this City (which in the sense of the Gospel, we may call, *The Holy City*; as Christ called *Jerusalem*, though she had multiplied transgressions, *The Holy City*, because she had not cast away his Law, though she had disobeyed it: So howsoever your sins have provoked God, yet as you retain a zealous profession of the truth of his Religion, I may in his name, and do in the bowels of his mercy, call you, *The Holy City*)..." See also Vol. III, p. 161.

What shall my West hurt me? As West and East
In all flatt Maps (and I am one) are one,
So death doth touch the Resurrection.

Is the Pacificque Sea my home? Or are
The Easterne riches? Is *Jerusalem*? ...⁵⁴

Yes, it was St. John's New Jerusalem, but to Donne's consciousness it was no land-bound city set among the hills, but a great port, a huge harbour in the guise of his own London, transfigured, even as St. John's Jewish city had been. Thus he spoke of it: "What a death is this life? what a resurrection is this death? For though this world be a sea, yet (which is most strange) our Harbour is larger then the sea; Heaven infinitely larger then this world."⁵⁵ Or again, speaking of those Christians who fear death, "... we pretend to be sayling home-wards, and yet we desire to have the winde against us; we are travelling to the heavenly *Jerusalem*, and yet we are loath to come thither."⁵⁶ And in another sermon he says: "So that, both our fraught which we are to take in, that is, what we are to beleeve concerning God; And the voyage which we are to make, how we are to steere and governe our course, ... And then the Haven to which we must goe, that is, our assurance of arriving at the heavenly Jerusalem, are expressed in this Chart, in this Map, in this Instruction, in this Text..."⁵⁷

To Donne life was a stormy voyage directed towards a definite goal. He would have scorned the romantic illusion that "to travel hopefully is better than to arrive." Tempest-tossed sailors are glad when they reach the haven where they would be. Donne was ever a lover of his kind, and his haven was both a port and a city, the redeemed humanity of the City that hath foundations, whose Builder and Maker is God.

THE SERMONS OF THIS VOLUME

In this volume we have a number of sermons which are definitely of an age and not for all time. They were, to adapt one of Donne's

⁵⁴ *Poems*, ed. Grierson, I, 368.

⁵⁵ Vol. VI, p. 76.

⁵⁶ Vol. III, p. 203.

⁵⁷ Vol. IX, pp. 352-353.

own phrases, sermons *upon emergent occasions*. They were called forth by a particular set of circumstances, and when those circumstances passed, the sermons lost their value. They became historical documents, and to understand them we must know something of the history of the times. This is particularly true of Sermons 4, 7, 9, 10, and 15, but most of the others, with the exception of Sermons 1, 2, and 13, have a strong political flavour.

On the Continent of Europe the Thirty Years' War had begun to rage. After the failure of Doncaster's embassy in 1619, the Elector Palatine, who had been elected King of Bohemia, was attacked by the Austrians and Spaniards, and after his defeat at Prague in October, 1620, he was driven out of Bohemia.⁵⁸ The news caused great indignation in England, and even King James was roused for the moment. He summoned Parliament for the beginning of February, 1621, and many hoped that he would declare war on Spain, for the quickest way to help the Elector would have been to attack his most powerful enemy, Spain. This, however, James had no intention of doing; for he was much under the influence of Gondomar, the Spanish Ambassador. When Parliament assembled, it concerned itself chiefly with domestic matters. It impeached Bacon, the Lord Chancellor, for bribery, and Sir Giles Mompesson and others for the holding of monopolies. When the King forbade the Commons to meddle with religion and foreign affairs, they retorted that "their liberties and privileges were the undoubted birthright of the subjects of England." James in anger dissolved Parliament, and then went on with his negotiations with Spain. He hoped that if his son, Prince Charles, married the Infanta, the Spaniards would be willing to restore the Elector, who was James's son-in-law, to the Palatinate. Gondomar had persuaded James that the Spanish King would agree to the match, and that the restoration of the Palatinate was likely, but no firm assurance came from Spain, and most Englishmen felt with good reason that the King was being deluded with "windy promises."⁵⁹ Of James's advisers those in favour of the Spanish match were Buck-

⁵⁸ See Vol. III of our edition, *Introd.*, pp. 10-13.

⁵⁹ This phrase is used by Arthur Wilson in his *History of Great Britain, being the Life and Reign of King James the First* (1653), p. 144. He gives a lively account of the violent popular opposition to the match.

ingham and his intimates, together with Arundel, Worcester, Digby, Calvert, Weston, "and some others popishly affected," while the Duke of Lennox, the Marquis of Hamilton, the Earl of Pembroke, and some others, showed little eagerness for the match, though they did not dare to oppose it openly. The Bishop of Winchester, Lancelot Andrewes, gave a cautious opinion to the effect "that every Papist was not an idolater" and that the Reformer Beza had given consent to the marriage of Henri IV of France, while still a Protestant, to the Catholic Marguerite de Valois, sister of Charles IX.⁶⁰ A minor personage, James Howell, has left on record in his letters his opinion that in England "the People are averse to this Match, and the Nobility with most part of the Gentry inclinable" to it. Also writing from Spain, where he had gone late in 1622, he expressed his hope that "a business of so high a consequence as this, which is likely to tend so much to the universal good of Christendom, to the restitution of the *Palatinate*, and the composing those broils in *Germany*," would not be upset by quarrels between Buckingham and the Earl of Bristol.⁶¹

The excitement grew still greater when in February, 1623, Prince Charles and the Duke of Buckingham departed incognito for Spain. Fears were expressed by some that the Prince would become a Papist willingly and that the marriage ceremony would be followed by a nuptial mass, while others thought that the Spaniards would seize Charles and Buckingham, and would imprison them till they turned Catholic, or even that the Inquisition would torture them. Even those who did not actually disapprove of the marriage agreed that the journey to Spain without a proper escort was a very dangerous experiment.⁶²

⁶⁰ Chamberlain, *Letters*, II, 393-394: "Finding his Lordship [Andrewes] in goode disposition ... I proceeded further about a treatise made and delivered the Prince by Dr. Hackwell his chaplain, wherin he dissuades him from marieng with one of a contrarie religion and an ydolater: and withall told his Lordship that I heard he had maintained that papists were not idolaters. He told me that the King sending for him on a sodain, and shewing him some part of the booke, in the presence of Dr. Hackwell and two or three bishops, commaunded him to deliver his opinion." Andrewes's answer to the King was as stated above.

⁶¹ *Familiar Letters of James Howell*, Ed. J. Jacobs, pp. 154, 172.

⁶² Chamberlain, *Letters*, II, 481: "...indeed the world talkes somewhat freely as yf yt were don that they [the Prince and the Infanta] may be

There were also economic troubles as well as political. In 1622 the harvest was a poor one, and the corn was blasted and mildewed. At sea there were heavy storms, "insomuch that divers ships were cast away in the haven of Plimmouth [Plymouth], a thing never heard of before: and on Sonday last two or three boats were lost in the Thames both above and below the bridge, in one of which ten persons were drowned some Dutch some English . . . We heare of a Dunkirker cast away the same night on the coast of Sussex, wherin were 130 men, wheroft only one escaped and came to land . . ."⁶³ The Algerian and Turkish pirates were busy in the Mediterranean and even in the English Channel, and on one occasion they captured fifty-seven British ships.^{⁶⁴} There were many bankruptcies, and the East India Company, the Virginia Company, and others such as "the Moscovie [Russian] Company," were not able to pay their debts.^{⁶⁵}

Early in 1622 the King had dissolved Parliament, and set about raising money by a benevolence, a sort of forced loan from the nobles and rich merchants. The bishops and higher clergy had also to contribute to this benevolence;^{⁶⁶} hence Donne in his new post would be expected to pay a fairly considerable sum. In spite of this benevolence in January and February, the exchequer was nearly empty again by the middle of October, and all sorts of proposals were made for raising the necessary amount. One of these was a motion that the members of the Privy Council and the nobility should set a good

maried at a masse which could not so handsomly be don here: or to prevent the difficulties of the Popes dispensation . . . Others assigne other causes but all concurre that yt is a very costly and hasardous experimt, . . . but all we can say is to pray that God will turne all to the best, for certainly there be daungers enough every way . . ." (letter of February 22, 1622/3).

^{⁶³} Chamberlain, *Letters*, II, 454.

^{⁶⁴} *Ibid.*, p. 402.

^{⁶⁵} *Ibid.*, p. 405.

^{⁶⁶} In a letter of January 19, 1622, Chamberlain writes: "The archbishop of Caunterburie hath held the same course with his clergie and the bishops about this towne have condiscended to goode rates considering the burthen of three ordinarie subsidies they have undergone this yeare: and to say truth yt comes generally somewhat out of season after so many collections for Bohemia, the French-church, two whole subsidies within the compasse of a yeare, and the hard seasons we have had these two last sommers, . . ." (*ibid.*, p. 421).

example to the nation and contribute a year's income, but this was quickly rejected, and it was proposed that the City of London should raise the money. To this it was answered that the merchants and shopkeepers were much impoverished since the last loan had been raised from them. Within the precincts of the City there were fifteen hundred houses that stood empty, and the owners of five hundred of these were bankrupt.⁶⁷ The conclusion of most men was that the proper course was to summon Parliament again, but King James had been so much angered by the proceedings of the 1621 Parliament that he refused to summon another for a while.⁶⁸ There was a general scarcity of money, wheat and rye were unusually dear, and although there was no epidemic of plague, the autumn and winter of 1622-23 were notable for high mortality in London, owing to colds and bronchitis and to a revival of the smallpox.⁶⁹

In these troubled conditions preachers had to exercise caution in their sermons, or they might find themselves in prison. Even the Bishop of London (Dr. Montaigne), who preached before the King on Christmas Day, 1622, displeased James, who began to murmur loudly, and the bishop was driven to end abruptly.⁷⁰ Lesser men, such as Dr. Winniffe, chaplain to Prince Charles, who was committed to the Tower,⁷¹ had reason to repent the freedom with which they had spoken in the pulpit. As early as December, 1620, the Bishop of London had been ordered to call all his clergy before him, "and to charge them from the King not to meddle in their sermons with the Spanish match nor any other matter of State."⁷² In spite of this, Puritan

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 459-460.

⁶⁸ After the failure of the Spanish match a new Parliament was summoned in February, 1623/4, but this does not fall within the compass of the present volume.

⁶⁹ Chamberlain, *Letters*, II, 466.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 470.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 432.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 331. Chamberlain in reporting this continues: "But for all that on Sonday following (whether by chaunce or otherwise) a younge fellow at Paules-crosse upon his text (thou shalt not plowe with an oxe and an asse,) spake very freely in generall." Also: "... and now this weeke Dr. Everard (reader at St. Martins in the feild) was sent to the Gatehouse, for glauncing on Sonday was sevennight at the Spanish match, and discifring the craft and crueltie of the Spaniards in all places where they come specially the West Indies ..." (*ibid.*, p. 350).

preachers continued to denounce the marriage, and books and pamphlets against it circulated surreptitiously.⁷³ In 1622 James found it necessary to issue *Directions for Preachers* in which the liberty of preaching was very strictly limited. No preacher below the rank of Bishop or Dean was to "presume to preach in any popular auditory the deep points of Predestination, Election, Reprobation, or of the universality, efficacy, or irresistibility of God's grace, but leave these themes rather to be handled by the learned men, and that moderately and modestly, by way of use and application, rather than by way of positive doctrines, being fitter for the Schools than for simple auditories." No preacher of any rank whatsoever was to limit the "Power, Prerogative, and Jurisdiction, Authority, or Duty of Sovereign Princes, and the People, than as they are instructed and preceded in the Homilies of Obedience, and the rest of the Homilies, and Articles of Religion ... set forth by public Authority."

After the publication of these Directions those who could no longer oppose the Spanish match in their sermons began to pray publicly that the King and the Prince might be preserved in the true religion.⁷⁴ Donne alludes to this expedient in his sermon on *Lamentations* 4.20 as being in effect a suggestion that there was a risk that they might be perverted from it.⁷⁵

⁷³ For example, *Vox populi, or newes from Spayne*, 1620, reissued 1622-1623, *An experimentall discoverie of Spanish practises*, 1623, *The second part of Vox Populi: or Gondomar appearing in the likenes of Matchiavell in a Spanish parliament*, n.d. All these, though published anonymously abroad, were by Thomas Scott.

⁷⁴ Chamberlain, *Letters*, II, 473: "...old Dr. White our prebend of Paules is commaunded to kepe his house, for that preaching there on Twelfth Night, he prayed God to preserve the King and Prince from any that shold go about to withdraw them from their first love and zeale to religion, which is interpreted as a kind of libell, as yf there were some daunger of such a matter."

⁷⁵ P. 253 of the present volume. "So wee have seen of late, some in obscure Conventicles, institute certain prayers, *That God would keep the King, and the Prince in the true Religion*; The prayer is always good, always usefull; but when that prayer is accompanied with circumstances, as though the King and the Prince were declining from that Religion, then even the prayer it selfe is libellous, and seditious..." This sermon was preached on November 5, 1622, and Dr. White's offense was not

The first sermon in this volume was delivered on March 8, 1621/2, which was the first Friday in Lent, the day on which Donne had been summoned for several years to preach before the King at Whitehall. It may have been with some trepidation that Donne prepared his sermon, for James had become so testy and ready to take offense that some of the clergy were afraid to preach at Whitehall, and begged the Lord Chamberlain to excuse them from the duty.⁷⁶ However, James was not at Whitehall for this particular occasion, as he was kept at Theobalds "by reason of a defluxion first into his arme, but now is fallen downe into his legge where yt settles like a gout, but not so painfull, but that he goes abrode in his litter to see his deere."⁷⁷ Moreover, Chamberlain observed three weeks later that when the King had returned to London he did not attend the sermons in the Chapel this Lent.⁷⁸

The sermon preached by Donne was a fine one on the text, "The last Enemy that shall be destroyed, is Death."⁷⁹ He continued the theme of death and resurrection in his Easter sermon (Sermon 2) which we have confidently assigned to this year though it is the only undated Easter sermon in the Folio. As the Dean of St. Paul's was required by statute to preach on Easter Day, and we have dated sermons for all the other Easters of Donne's tenure of the Deanery, it obviously must belong here.

The next sermon (No. 3) was preached on Easter Monday "at the Spittle," that is, the Cross by the Hospital of St. Mary, Bishopsgate.

committed till January 6, 1623, so Donne was certainly not rebuking his colleague at St. Paul's, but had someone else in mind.

⁷⁶ Chamberlain, *Letters*, II, 433: "Master Hales did not preach at court this Lent as was apointed, but desired to be spared, as pretending nothing but to live quietly, and therfore was willing to resigne his roome to some that had more ambition to shew themselves, so that one Dr. Bates supplied the place . . ." This letter was dated April 27, 1622.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 426 (letter of March 9, 1621/2).

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 428.

⁷⁹ S. T. Coleridge in his *Notes on the English Divines*, I, 97, quoted the passage beginning "The ashes of an Oak in the Chimney, are no Epitaph of that Oak, . . ." and remarked briefly, "Very beautiful indeed." On lines 394-414 he commented: "This is powerful; but is too much in the style of the monkish preachers . . ."

The arrangements for sermons at this Cross are fully described by Stow, who tells us that the Pulpit Cross was "somewhat like to that in *Paules* Church yard," and that there was a "faire builded house in two stories in height" where the Lord Mayor with the Aldermen and Sheriffs and other honorable persons could sit to hear "the Sermons preached in the Easter holydayes." He continues, "And here is to be noted, that time out of minde, it hath beene a laudable custome, that on good Friday in the after noone, some especiall learned man, by appoynptment of the Prelats, hath preached a Sermon at *Paules* crosse, treating of Christs passion: and upon the three next Easter Holydayes, Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, the like learned men, by the like appoynptment, have used to preach on the forenoones at the sayde Spittle, to perswade the Article of Christs resurrection: and then on low Sunday, one other learned man at *Paules* Crosse, to make rehearsall of those four former Sermons, either commanding or reprobining them, as to him by judgement of the learned Divines was thought convenient.... At these sermons so severally preached, the Mayor, with his brethren the Aldermen were accustomed to bee present in their Violets at *Paules* on good Fryday, and in their Scarlets at the Spittle in the Holidayes...continued unto this day."⁸⁰ Stow also relates that in 1594 the old pulpit was taken down, and a new one set up, and that "a large house on the east side of the said Pulpit" was built for the governors and children of Christ's Hospital to sit in.

Donne's sermon on this occasion was the longest which he ever preached. It must have taken about two hours and a half to deliver, and Donne himself alludes towards the end to the possibility that his voice had sunk so low that he could not be heard. Evidently the "prelates" who chose the "learned men" to deliver these sermons were determined that the Mayor and Aldermen, together with the unfortunate schoolboys of Christ's Hospital, should have their full quantum of sound theological doctrine. This particular sermon is a good one, and contains passages which are frequently quoted.⁸¹

⁸⁰ Stow, *Survey* (ed. Kingsford), I, 167-168.

⁸¹ Pearsall Smith, in his *Selected Passages* from Donne's sermons, quotes (pp. 233-234) lines 1416-1454; John Hayward, in his edition of Donne's *Complete Poetry and Selected Prose*, quotes four separate short passages.

Sermon 4 is much less interesting. Donne delivered it at Lincoln's Inn on Ascension Day, and he made a sustained attack on what he described as the idolatry of the Roman Church, and begged his hearers not to allow the infiltration of Roman priests into the life of the nation or into their own homes. There was some cause for alarm at this time, because James, in his anxiety to please the Spanish ambassador, had relaxed many of the restrictions imposed on the entry of foreign priests.⁸² Arthur Wilson wrote of this period: "At home the *Prisons* are set open, *Priests* and *Jesuits* walk about at noon day to deceive. And *Gondomar* vaunts of four thousand *Recusants* that his intercession had released: either to make his *service* the more acceptable to his *Master*, or to let him see how willing *Our King* is to do any thing to advance that *Match* that they never intend."⁸³

Sermon 5 is described in the Folio as having been preached at St. Paul's on Midsummer Day, the Feast of St. John the Baptist. For it Donne preached a second sermon on *John* 1.8, which had already served him as the text for his Christmas sermon of 1621. Then Donne had dwelt on the text as it applies to Christ, but since it also mentions John the Baptist as a witness to Christ, it was suitable for the present occasion, and we are told that it was "a very goode sermon" and that he had a large audience.⁸⁴

⁸² As early as August, 1620, Chamberlain had complained: "... some geve out there be at least two or three hundred Jesuites, priests and friers lately come over, and grow so bold that they go up and downe in some places in their habits" (*Letters*, II, 315). In May, 1621, he wrote: "Wold you thincke the papists were so impudent as to publish that the late bishop of London [John King] died a Romish Catholike? And yt goes for current among them, of which there is no manner of ground nor shadow but that out of charitie (both before and in his sicknes) he relieved some priests that were in prison and want ..." (*ibid.*, p. 376). In December, 1623, he wrote: "But the truth is that priests and Jesuites swarne here extraordinarilie, and are growne so bold that yf any of qualitie men or women fall sicke and have any frends or kinred that way affected, under that colour they will finde accesse to them and use perswasion which whether yt prevaile or no, yf the partie die, they will find meanes though they be past sense to anoint and crosse them with such other ceremonies and then geve out they were theirs and won by them as I have knowne in divers that pertained no way to them" (*ibid.*, p. 531).

⁸³ Arthur Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 195.

⁸⁴ Chamberlain, *Letters*, II, 443. From Chamberlain's reference to the



JAMES HAY, VISCOUNT DONCASTER, EARL OF CARLISLE

From an engraving, in Thomas Pennant's *Tour in Scotland*, Vol. II (1776), of a portrait by Van Dyck, then at Dupplin, Perthshire, seat of the Earl of Kinnoull.

Sermon 6 was delivered on August 25 at Hanworth before Donne's friend Lord Doncaster,⁸⁵ who was with his father-in-law the Earl of Northumberland, and the Marquis of Buckingham. Doncaster was in high favour at this time with the King, who in July, 1621, had sent him to France on an embassy with a large allowance, and who later gave him a pension which some thought extravagantly large. He was a pleasant, affable man, who entertained with profuse hospitality, and he had grateful memories of the excellent sermons which Donne had preached on the German tour of 1619.⁸⁶

Sermon 7 was preached at Paul's Cross on September 15, 1622. The King ordered Donne to explain to the people the meaning of his *Directions to Preachers* forbidding them to discuss controversial matters in the pulpit.⁸⁷ Donne chose an unusual text, "They fought from Heaven; The stars in their courses fought against Sisera," and Gosse⁸⁸ seems quite to have misunderstood Donne's interpretation of it. Donne himself explains it: "Preaching then being *Gods Ordinance*, to beget Faith, to take away preaching, were to disarre *God*, and to quench the spirit; for by that *Ordinance*, *he fights from heaven*. And to maintaine that fight, hee hath made his *Ministers Starrs*; as they are called, in the first of the *Revelation*. And they fight against *Sisera*, that is, they preach against *Error*.⁸⁹ Ministers, says Donne, must carry on this spiritual warfare in due order. They must catechize,

day being "the first Sonday of this terme," it appears that the sermon, which was preached in the afternoon, was delivered on June 23, Midsummer Eve, and not on the actual Feast day, June 24.

⁸⁵ The title of the sermon in the Folio describes Doncaster as "my Lord of Carlile," but he was not created Earl of Carlisle till September 13, a few weeks after the date of the sermon.

⁸⁶ Tobie Matthew, *Letters*, p. 323: "I must now live upon the crumms of my German devotions; which, if I had carefullie gathered up, had been an eternall feast."

⁸⁷ Arthur Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 200, gives the full text of the *Directions*, which were sent with a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and adds a racy commentary.

⁸⁸ *Life and Letters of John Donne* (1899), II, 161: "The text seems unluckily chosen to illustrate the supposed defiance of the King by the Puritans—'The stars in their courses fought against Sisera'—but Sisera was highly pleased with his Dean's defence."

⁸⁹ P. 195 of the present volume.

they must use the homilies and the Articles of Religion of the Church of England, and they must do all in obedience to the lawful authority of the Sovereign. He closes with what seems to modern readers a rather servile tribute of flattery to the King, but this was common form among those who supported the royal authority, and James would probably not have been satisfied with much less.⁹⁰

The King at once ordered the publication of the sermon, and it appeared in print before the end of November.⁹¹ This was the first of Donne's sermons to be published, and there were three separate issues of it. Lord Doncaster recommended Donne, in a letter which is published in the Tobie Matthew collection,⁹² to dedicate the volume to the Marquis of Buckingham, and Donne accepted this advice. In a letter to Goodyer which he wrote some time afterwards, he described the occasion to his friend: "The direction which his Majesty gave for Preachers, had scandalized many; therefore he descended to pursue them with certain reasons of his proceedings therein; and I had commandment to publish them in a Sermon at the Crosse, to as great a Congregation as ever I saw together, where they received comfortable assurance of his Majesties constancy in Religion, and of his desire that all men should be bred in the knowledge of such things, as might preserve them from the superstition of Rome."⁹³

Sermon 8 was delivered at St. Paul's on October 13, 1622, and was a third sermon on the text *John* 1.8. Sermon 9 was the Gunpowder Plot Sermon, which should have been preached at Paul's Cross, but, on account of the bad weather, was delivered inside the Cathedral. This celebration took place annually on November 5, and a special

⁹⁰ Chamberlain (*Letters*, II, 451) has a rather curious comment: "On the 15th of this present the Dean of Paules preached at the Crosse to certifie the Kings goode intention in the late orders concerning preachers and preaching, and of his constancie in the true reformed religion, which the people (as shold seeme) began to suspect; . . . but he gave no great satisfaction, or as some say spake as yf himself were not so well satisfied."

⁹¹ On November 16 Chamberlain wrote: "His [Donne's] sermon at the Crosse in September last about the Kings directions for preaching is in print, and yf I had met with a messenger you shold have yt" (*ibid.*, p. 464).

⁹² *Collection of Letters*, ed. J. Donne, p. 304 (A Letter from the Lord of Carlile to J. D.).

⁹³ *Letters to several Persons of Honour*, pp. 231-232.

service was provided for it in the Prayer Book and continued in use till 1859. The day was popularly known as Guy Fawkes' Day, and effigies of Guy Fawkes were paraded about the streets, and were burnt on bonfires in the evening.⁹⁴

Donne made allusion to this sermon in a very interesting letter which he wrote on December 1 to Sir Thomas Roe, the English Ambassador at Constantinople. With the letter he sent a copy of his sermon preached at Paul's Cross on September 15, which we have discussed in the preceding pages. In the letter Donne conceded that many men had been scandalized by the proposals about the Spanish marriage treaty, and that they had "admitted suspicions of a tepidnes in very high places." He continued:

Some civil acts, in favor of the Papists, have been with some precipitation over-dangerously misapplyed too.... I know to be sory for some things that are donne, (that is, sorry that our tymes are overtaken with a necessity to do them) proceeds of true zeale; but to conclude the worst upon the first degree of ill, is a distillinge with too hot a fire. One of these occurences, gave the occasion to this sermon, which by commandement I preached and which I send to your Lordship. Some few weeks after that, I preachd another at the same place: upon the Gun-powder day. Therin I was left more to mine owne liberty; and therfore I would I could also send your Lordship a Copy of that; but that one, which, also by commandement I did write after the preachinge, is as yet in his Majesties hand, and, I know not whether he will in it, as he did in the other, after his readinge thereof, command it to be printed; and, whilst it is in that suspence, I know your Lordship would call it Indiscretion, to send out any copy thereof; neither truly, ame I able to committ that fault; for I have no Copy.⁹⁵

However, the King did not order this sermon to be printed. Perhaps he thought that its tone was too hostile to the Catholics, for all through the marriage negotiations James did everything in his power to please Gondomar, the Spanish Ambassador. Donne's letter to Roe continues with a reference to yet another sermon:

⁹⁴ The custom of pushing the "guys" about the streets and collecting money with the cry "A penny for the guy" continued till the outbreak of the First World War in 1914. The lighting of bonfires on the evening of November 5 still continues.

⁹⁵ State Papers Domestic, James I, CXXXIV, 59; Hayward's edition of Donne's *Complete Poetry and Selected Prose*, pp. 477-478.

A few days after that, I preached, by invitation of the Virginian Company, to an honourable auditory, and they recompenced me with a new commandment, in their Service, to printe that: and that, I hope, comes with this: for, with papers of that kinde, I ame the apter to chardge your chapleyne in the Exercise of my Ministery.

This letter stands alone in Donne's correspondence in having references to three of his sermons, two of which had been newly printed. Donne was evidently pleased, and anxious to distribute copies to his friends, and it is from this point that we can date his growing realization that some of his sermons might have a future life in print. Hitherto none of his sermons had been published, though it was nearly eight years since he had taken Holy Orders. A few of them, such as *A Sermon of Valediction*, and the sermon on *Matthew 21.44*, preached before the Countess of Montgomery,⁹⁶ had circulated in handwritten copies among his friends, but these could reach very few readers, and their life would obviously be short. Now he began to realize the potentialities of the printed word.⁹⁷ Another sermon (No. 15 in this volume) would be printed in 1623, and in 1624 he would hasten to print the *Devotions upon Emergent Occasions* which were composed during his sickness and convalescence. In the autumn of 1625 in his enforced seclusion in Chelsea he would revise and write out in full as many as eighty of his sermons, and so the way was prepared for the eventual publication of the three great Folios of his sermons.

Sermon 10 is an important and interesting sermon, for it was delivered at the special meeting and service held by the Company of the Virginian Plantation.⁹⁸ The first attempt at founding a colony in

⁹⁶ Both of these are printed in Vol. II of our edition as Nos. 8 and 11 (pp. 179-196, 235-249, and in the manuscript version in Appendix B, pp. 373-390).

⁹⁷ We must remember that up to this point (the last quarter of 1622) the only works by Donne which had appeared in print were *Pseudo-Martyr* (1610), *Conclave Ignati* (in Latin and English, 1611), and the two *Anniversaries* (1611 and 1612).

⁹⁸ This is described by Chamberlain (*Letters*, II, 464): "On Wensday night the Virginia companie had a feast or meeting at Marchant-taylors Hall, whether many of the nobilitie and counsaile were invited but few came. They spent 21 does and were between three and fowre hundred at three shillings a man: the Deane of Paules preached, according to the common custome of all feasting nowadays."

Virginia had been made by Sir Walter Raleigh in 1586-1587, but the colonists had either returned home, or died, or disappeared. King James's first patent to the Virginia Company was issued in 1606, and his instructions for the government of the colony show that he planned to control it in a strict and detailed manner. However, he soon lost interest in the venture, and in the charters of 1609 and 1612 he abandoned the principle of royal control in detail, though he tried to induce the colonists to plant fruit trees, vineyards, and mulberry trees for use in raising silkworms, instead of cultivating tobacco, which he detested.⁹⁹ The colony went through many tribulations caused by famine, disease, attacks by Indians, and the general inexperience of the settlers, while at home its success was imperiled by the bitter feuds that arose in London among the managers of the Virginia Company. In June, 1616, Chamberlain gave a brief summary of the general view of the colony: "Sir Thomas Dale is arrived from Virginia and brought with him some ten or twelve old and younge of that countrie, among whom the most remarquable person is Poca-huntas (daughter of Powatan a kinge or cacique of that countrie) married to one Rolfe an English man: I heare not of any other riches or matter of worth, but only some quantitie of sassafras, tobacco, pitch, and clap-board, things of no great value unles there were more plentie and neerer hand. All I can learn of yt is that the countrie is goode to live in, yf yt were stored with people, and might in time become commodious, but there is no present profit to be expected . . ."¹⁰⁰

Donne showed himself more alive to the possibilities of this new land beyond the Atlantic. He had once thought of going there himself, for a letter of February, 1609, tells us "Newes here is none at all but that John Dun seekes to be preferred to be secretarie of Vir-

⁹⁹ For a brief account of King James's part in the establishment of Virginia see D. H. Willson, *King James VI and I* (1956), pp. 330-331.

¹⁰⁰ *Letters*, II, 12. Later Chamberlain wrote that "the Lord Delawar is dead in his viage to Virginia," and that most of those who had gone out with him were sick or dead; also that "the citie is now shipping thether an hundred younge boyes and girles that lay starving in the streetes, which is one of the best deeds that could be don with so litle charge not rising to above 500*li*" (*ibid.*, p. 170).

ginia."¹⁰¹ The colony receives an occasional mention in his poems, as in the verse letter *To the Countesse of Bedford* (Grierson, I, 197):

We 'have added to the world Virginia, 'and sent
Two new starres lately to the firmament.

In this sermon he shows himself aware of the many hardships which had beset the colonists, and of the financial difficulties which were troubling the company, but he urges on his audience that they should be patient and take a longer view. "God sayes to you, *No Kingdome, not ease, not abundance; nay nothing at all yet*; the Plantation shall not discharge the Charges, not defray it selfe yet; but yet already, now at first, it shall conduce to great uses..."¹⁰² The colony would offer a second chance in life to many criminals sentenced for a first offense, perhaps a very small one, and it would give work to many who were idle in England. It would breed mariners, and encourage trade. Those who go there must preach Christ's true religion, and must witness to it in the truth, justice, and integrity of their proceedings. Donne has an eloquent prophecy of the future: "Those amongst you, that are old now, shall passe out of this world with this great comfort, that you contributed to the beginning of that Common Wealth, and of that Church, though they live not to see the groath thereof to perfection:... You shall have made this *Iland*, which is but as the *Suburbs* of the old world, a Bridge, a Gallery to the new; to joyne all to that world that shall never grow old, the Kingdome of heaven, You shall add persons to this Kingdome, and to the Kingdome of heaven, and adde names to the Bookes of our Chronicles, and to the Booke of Life."¹⁰³

Sermon 11 was preached at St. Paul's on Christmas Day, 1622, and is not particularly noteworthy. Sermon 12 is described in the Folio as "Preached upon Candlemas Day" without a date. The heading tells us that the text (*Romans 13:7*) formed "part of the Epistle of that day, that yeare." The text occurs in the Epistle for the Fourth Sunday after Epiphany, and it seems therefore that the sermon must belong to 1616/17 or 1622/3, those being the only years during Donne's

¹⁰¹ Chamberlain, *Letters*, I, 284. See also Carleton's letter to Chamberlain of February 20, 1609 (S.P. 12/43, No. 81).

¹⁰² P. 272 of the present volume.

¹⁰³ Pp. 280-281.

ministry in which the Fourth Sunday after Epiphany fell on February 2. Of the two dates, 1622/3 is much the more likely. We have already noted¹⁰⁴ that the Lord Mayor went in procession to St. Paul's on Candlemas Day, and that Donne as Dean thought it his duty to preach before him, whereas at Lincoln's Inn no special notice seems to have been taken of Candlemas Day. We have therefore inserted the sermon here.

Sermon 13 was preached at Whitehall on February 28, 1622/3, which was the first Friday in Lent. It seems that the King was not present, for there is no mention of him in the title of the sermon, and in April Chamberlain wrote that the Archbishop preached at Court on Palm Sunday, and that the King had not been present at any Lenten sermons till then in the Chapel.¹⁰⁵ Donne made no mention in the sermon of the great excitement of the moment—the news that Prince Charles and Buckingham, disguised in false beards, and calling themselves Jack and Tom Smith, had crossed privately to France, and were on their way to Madrid. The Sunday after their departure everyone had flocked to Paul's Cross in hopes to hear something, “but the preacher had his lesson *in hæc verba*, only to pray for the Princes prosperous journey and safe return, and the next day the bishop convening all his clergie gave them the same charge, but some of them had anticipated the commaundment, and proceeded further, wherof one desired God to be mercifull unto him now that he was going into the house of Rimmon . . .”¹⁰⁶

Donne's sermon was entirely suitable for the beginning of Lent. It was a beautiful discourse on the text “Jesus wept,” and in it Donne examined the three occasions on which our Lord is said to have wept. Of the passage, “. . . that world which findes it selfe truly in an Autumne, in it selfe, findes it selfe in a spring, in our imaginations,” Coleridge wrote enthusiastically, “Worthy almost of Shakspeare!”¹⁰⁷

Donne's next Easter sermon (No. 14) was not one of his best. It contains a curious reference to “a vulgar Spanish Author,” that is, one who wrote in the vernacular and not in Latin, “who writes the

¹⁰⁴ Vol. III, Introd., p. 42. For the obligation of the Lord Mayor to attend on Candlemas Day see Stow, *Survey*, II, 190.

¹⁰⁵ *Letters*, II, 489.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 482-483.

¹⁰⁷ *Notes on the English Divines*, I, 103.

Iosephina, the life of *Joseph*, the husband of the blessed Virgin *Mary*, who moving that question, why that Virgin is never called by any style of Majesty, or Honour in the Scriptures, he sayes, That if after the declaring of her to be the Mother of God, he had added any other Title, the Holy Ghost had not been a good Courtier, (as his very word is) ...¹⁰⁸ The book which Donne mentions was the *Iosephina* of Geronimo Gracian (Brussels, 1609), of which a copy with Donne's signature and motto is in the British Museum.¹⁰⁹ With the approach of the Spanish marriage, and the exodus of courtiers to join the Prince and Buckingham in Spain, Donne seems to be anxious to parade the fact that he could read Spanish and knew some current theological Spanish literature.

Coleridge praised some part of this sermon highly, and wrote of lines 193-221: "All that follows ... is admirable ... and indeed proves that Donne was at least possessed by the truth which I have always laboured to enforce, namely, that faith is the apotheosis of the reason in man, the complement of reason, the will in the form of the reason." But when he reached lines 279-283, "We place in the Schoole, (for the most part) the infinite Merit of Christ Jesus ... rather *in pacto*, then *in persona* ...," he was forced to exclaim, "O, this is sad misty divinity! far too scholastical for the pulpit, far too vague and unphilosophic for the study."¹¹⁰

Sermon 15 was preached on an occasion which must have given Donne much pleasure. The new chapel at Lincoln's Inn was consecrated on Ascension Day, May 22, 1623, by the Bishop of London, George Montaigne, and Donne was invited to preach the sermon. Of this Chamberlain writes: "... there was great concourse of noblemen and gentlemen wherof two or three were indaungered and taken up dead for the time with the extreme presse and thronging. The

¹⁰⁸ P. 347 of the present volume.

¹⁰⁹ The fact that this book had belonged to Donne was first pointed out by J. A. Muñoz Rojas in an article, "Un libro español en la biblioteca de Donne," *Revista de Filología Española*, XXV, 108-111. The only other vernacular Spanish book which we know that Donne possessed was the 1589 edition of the *Institucion* of Dominico de Soto (1494-1560), a writer whose *Ratio tegendi et detegendi secretum* was frequently quoted in *Biathanatos*, pp. 35, 36-37, 98, 128, etc.

¹¹⁰ *Notes on the English Divines*, I, 112, 113.

Deane of Paules made an excellent sermon (they say) concerning dedications."¹¹¹ Donne had played an active part during the years of his Readership in the campaign to raise funds for the building of a new chapel. He preached at least one full sermon¹¹² on the subject, and in several other sermons he returned to the theme. Now he was able to praise the generosity of the whole Society, and to rejoice in the completed chapel, which has remained in use till now.

¹¹¹ *Letters*, II, 500.

¹¹² Vol. II of our edition, No. 10. See the Introduction to that volume, pp. 4-7, for an account of the building, and a photograph of it, together with a long quotation from the present sermon.

The Sermons

Number 1.

*Preached at White-hall,
March 8. 1621. [1621/2]*

I COR. 15.26. *THE LAST ENEMIE THAT SHALL BE DESTROYED, IS DEATH.*

THIS is a Text of the Resurrection, and it is not Easter yet; but it is Easter Eve; All Lent, is but the Vigill, the Eve of Easter: to so long a Festivall as never shall end, the Resurrection, wee may well begin the Eve betimes. Forty yeares long was God grieved for that Generation which he loved; let us be content to humble our selves forty daies, to be fitter for that glory which we expect. In the Booke of God there are many *Songs*; there is but one *Lamentation*: And that one Song of *Solomon*, nay some one of *Davids* hundred and fiftie Psalmes, is longer then the whole booke of Lamentations.

[Psa. 95.10]

¹⁰ Make way to an everlasting Easter by a short Lent, to an undeterminable glory, by a temporary humiliation. You must weepe these teares, teares of contrition, teares of mortification, before God will wipe all teares from your eyes; You must dye this death, this death of the righteous, the death to sin, before this *last enemy, Death*, shalbe destroyed in you, and you made partakers of everlasting life in soule and body too.

Our division shall be but a short, and our whole exercise but a larger paraphrase upon the words. The words imply first, That the Kingdome of Christ, which must be perfected, must be accomplished, (be-²⁰ cause all things must be subdued unto him) is not yet perfected, not accomplished yet. Why? what lacks it? It lacks the bodies of Men, which yet lie under the dominion of another. When we shall also see

Divisio

by that Metaphor which the Holy Ghost chooseth to expresse that in, which is that there is *Hostis*, and so *Militia*, an enemie, and a warre, and therefore that Kingdome is not perfected, that he places perfect happiness, and perfect glory, in perfect peace. But then how far is any State consisting of many men, how far the state, and condition of any one man in particular, from this perfect peace? How truly a warfare is this life, if the Kingdome of Heaven it selfe, have
³⁰ not this peace in perfection? And it hath it not, *Quia hostis*, because there is an enemy: though that enemy shall not overthrow it, yet because it plots, and workes, and machinates, and would overthrow it, this is a defect in that peace.

[Exod. 33.20] Who then is this enemy? An enemy that may thus far thinke himselfe equall to God, that as no man ever saw God, and lived; so no man ever saw this enemy and lived, for it is Death; And in this may

[Psa. 89.48] thinke himselfe in number superiour to God, that many men live who shall never see God; But *Quis homo*, is *Davids* question, which was never answered, *Is there any man that lives, and shall not see*

⁴⁰ *death?* An enemie that is so well victualled against man, as that he cannot want as long as there are men, for he feeds upon man himselfe. And so well armed against Man, as that he cannot want Munition, while there are men, for he fights with our weapons, our owne faculties, nay our calamities, yea our owne pleasures are our death. And therefore he is *Novissimus hostis*, saith the Text, *The last enemy.*

[Rev. 6.10]

We have other Enemies; Satan about us, sin within us; but the power of both those, this enemie shall destroy; but when they are destroyed, he shall retaine a hostile, and triumphant dominion over us. But *Vsque quo Domine?* How long O Lord? for ever? No,

⁵⁰ *Abolebitur*: wee see this Enemy all the way, and all the way we feele him; but we shall see him destroyed; *Abolebitur*. But how? or when? At, and by the resurrection of our bodies: for as upon my expiration, my transmigration from hence, as soone as my soule enters into Heaven, I shall be able to say to the Angels, I am of the same stufte as you, spirit, and spirit, and therefore let me stand with you, and looke upon the face of your God, and my God; so at the Resurrection of this body, I shall be able to say to the Angel of the great Councell, the Son of God, Christ Jesus himselfe, I am of the same stufte as you, Body and body, Flesh and flesh, and therefore let me sit downe with

[Isa. 9.6
Sept.]

⁶⁰ you, at the right hand of the Father in an everlasting security from this last enemie, who is now destroyed, death. And in these seven steps we shall passe apace, and yet cleerely through this paraphrase.

We begin with this; That the Kingdome of Heaven hath not all that it must have to a consummate perfection, till it have bodies too. In those infinite millions of millions of generations, in which the holy, blessed, and glorious Trinity enjoyed themselves one another, and no more, they thought not their glory so perfect, but that it might receive an addition from creatures; and therefore they made a world, a materiall world, a corporeall world, they would have ⁷⁰ bodies. In that noble part of that world which *Moses* calls the Firmament, that great expansion from Gods chaire to his footstoole, from Heaven to earth, there was a defect, which God did not supply that day, nor the next, but the fourth day, he did; for that day he made those bodies, those great, and lightsome bodies, the Sunne, and Moone, and Starres, and placed them in the Firmament. So also the Heaven of Heavens, the Presence Chamber of God himselfe, expects the presence of our bodies.

No State upon earth, can subsist without those bodies, Men of their owne. For men that are supplied from others, may either in necessity, ⁸⁰ or in indignation, be withdrawne, and so that State which stood upon forraigne legs, sinks. Let the head be gold, and the armes silver, and the belly brasse, if the feete be clay, Men that may slip, and molder away, all is but an Image, all is but a dreame of an Image: for forraigne helps are rather crutches then legs. There must be bodies, Men, and able bodies, able men; Men that eat the good things of the land, their owne figges and olives; Men not macerated with extortions: They are glorified bodies that make up the kingdome of Heaven; bodies that partake of the good of the State, that make up the State. Bodies, able bodies, and lastly, bodies inanimated with one soule: one ⁹⁰ vegetative soule, head and members must grow together, one sensitive soule, all must be sensible and compassionate of one anothers miserie; and especially one Immortall soule, one supreame soule, one Religion. For as God hath made us under good Princes, a great example of all that, Abundance of Men, Men that live like men, men united in one Religion, so wee need not goe farre for an example of a slippery, and uncertaine being, where they must stand upon other Mens men,

Vestig. 1
Quia desunt
Corpora

[Gen.
1.6-8]

[Gen.
1.14-16]

Dan. 2.32

and must over-load all men with exactions, and have admitted distractions and distortions, and convulsions, and earthquakes in the multiplicity of Religions.

¹⁰⁰ The Kingdome of Heaven must have bodies; Kingdomes of the earth must have them; and if upon the earth thou beest in the way to Heaven, thou must have a body too, a body of thine owne, a body in thy possession: for thy body hath thee, and not thou it, if thy body tyrannize over thee. If thou canst not withdraw thine eye from an object of temptation, or withhold thy hand from subscribing against thy conscience, nor turne thine eare from a popular, and seditious Libell, what hast thou towards a man? Thou hast no soule, nay thou hast no body: There is a body, but thou hast it not, it is not thine, it is not in thy power. Thy body will rebell against thee even in a sin:

¹¹⁰ It will not performe a sin, when, and where thou wouldest have it. Much more will it rebell against any good worke, till thou have imprinted *Stigmata Iesu, The Markes of the Lord Iesus*, which were but exemplar in him, but are essentiall, and necessary to thee, abstinencies, and such discrete disciplines, and mortifications, as may subdue that body to thee, and make it thine: for till then it is but thine enemy, and maintaines a warre against thee; and war, and enemie is the Metaphore which the holy Ghost hath taken here to expresse a want, a kind of imperfectnesse even in Heaven it selfe. *Bellum Symbolum mali*. As peace is of all goodnesse, so warre is an embleme, a Hieroglyphique, of all misery; And that is our second step in this paraphrase.

Vestig. 2
Pax & bellum

If the feete of them that preach peace, be beautifull, (And, *O how beautifull are the feete of them that preach peace?* The Prophet *Isaiah* askes the question, 52.7. And the Prophet *Nahum* askes it, 1.15. and the Apostle *S. Paul* askes it, *Rom. 10.15*. They all aske it, but none answers it) who shall answer us, if we aske, How beautifull is his face, who is the Author of this peace, when we shall see that in the glory of Heaven, the Center of all true peace? It was the inheritance of Christ Jesus upon the earth, he had it at his birth, he brought it

Luke 2.14
Colos. 1.20
Iohn 14.27

¹³⁰ with him, *Glory be to God on high, peace upon earth*. It was his purchase upon earth, *He made peace* (indeed he bought peace) *through the blood of his Crosse*. It was his Testament, when he went from earth; *Peace I leave with you, my peace I give unto you*. Divide

with him in that blessed Inheritance, partake with him in that blessed Purchase, enrich thy selfe with that blessed Legacy, his Peace.

Let the whole world be in thy consideration as one house; and then consider in that, in the peacefull harmony of creatures, in the peacefull succession, and connexion of causes, and effects, the peace of Nature. Let this Kingdome, where God hath blessed thee with a
¹⁴⁰ being, be the Gallery, the best roome of that house, and consider in the two walls of that Gallery, the Church and the State, the peace of a royall, and a religious Wisedome; Let thine owne family be a Cabinet in this Gallery, and finde in all the boxes thereof, in the severall duties of Wife, and Children, and servants, the peace of vertue, and of the father and mother of all vertues, active discretion, passive obedience; and then lastly, let thine owne bosome be the secret box, and reserve in this Cabinet, and find there the peace of conscience, and truelie thou hast the best Jewell in the best Cabinet, and that in the best Gallery of the best house that can be had, peace with the Creature,
¹⁵⁰ peace in the Church, peace in the State, peace in thy house, peace in thy heart, is a faire Modell, and a lovely designe even of the heavenly Jerusalem which is *Visio pacis*, where there is no object but peace.

And therefore the holy Ghost to intimate to us, that happy perfectnesse, which wee shall have at last, and not till then, chooses the Metaphor of an enemy, and enmity, to avert us from looking for true peace from any thing that presents it selfe in the way. Neither truly could the holy Ghost imprint more horror by any word, then that which intimates war, as the word *enemy* does. It is but a little way that the Poet hath got in the description of war, *Iam seges est*,
¹⁶⁰ that now, that place is ploughed where the great City stood: for it is not so great a depopulation to translate a City from Merchants to husbandmen, from shops to ploughes, as it is from many Husbandmen to one Shepheard, and yet that hath beene often done. And all that, at most, is but a depopulation, it is not a devastation, that Troy was ploughed. But, when the Prophet *Isaiah* comes to the devastation, to the extermination of a war, he expresses it first thus; *Where there were a thousand Vineyards at a cheape rate, all the land [shall] become briars and thornes: That is much; but there is more, The earth shall be removed out of her place; that Land, that Nation, shall no more be called that Nation, nor that Land: But, yet more then that too; Not*

Essay 7.23

Essay 13.13

Essay

13.20-21

only, not that people, but no other shall ever inhabit it. *It shall never be inhabited from generation to generation, neither shall Shepheards be there;* Not only no Merchant, nor Husbandman, but no depopulator: *none but Owles, and Ostriches, and Satyres,* Indeed God knowes what, *Ochim, and Ziim,* words which truly we cannot translate.

2 Sam. 24.13

In a word, the horror of War is best discerned in the company he keeps, in his associates. And when the Prophet *Gad* brought *War* into the presence of *David*, there came with him *Famine*, and *Pestilence*.

[Lam. 2.20]

¹⁸⁰ And when Famine entred, we see the effects; It brought Mothers to eat their Children of a span long; that is, as some Expositors take it, to take medicines to procure abortions, to cast their Children, that they might have Children to eat. And when War's other companion, the Pestilence entred, we see the effects of that too: In lesse then half the time that it was threatned for, it devoured three-score and ten thousand of *Davids* men; and yet for all the vehemence, the violence, the impetuousnesse of this Pestilence, *David* chose this Pestilence rather then a War. *Militia* and *Malitia*, are words of so neare a sound, as that the vulgat Edition takes them as one. For

Essay 40.2

¹⁹⁰ where the Prophet speaking of the miseries that Hierusalem had suffered, sayes, *Finita militia ejus*, Let her *warfare* be at an end, they reade, *Finita malitia ejus*, Let her *misery* be at an end; War and Misery is all one thing. But is there any of this in heaven? Even the Saints in heaven lack something of the consummation of their happiness, *Quia hostis*, because they have an enemy. And that is our third and next step.

Apoc. 12.7

Vest. 3

Quia

Hostis

²⁰⁰ Now there is noe warre in heaven. There was warre in heaven, sayes St. John, *Michael* and his Angels fought against the devill and his Angels; though that war ended in victory, yet (taking that war, as divers Expositors doe, for the fall of Angels) that Kingdome lost so many inhabitants, as that all the soules of all that shall be saved, shall but fill up the places of them that fell, and so make that Kingdome but as well as it was before that war: So ill effects accompany even the most victorious war. There is no war in heaven, yet all is not well, because there is an enemy; for that enemy would kindle a war again, but that he remembers how ill he sped last time he did so. It is not an enemy that invades neither, but only detaines: he

detaines the bodies of the Saints which are in heaven, and therefore is an enemy to the Kingdome of Christ; He that detaines the soules ²¹⁰ of men in Superstition, he that detaines the hearts and allegiance of Subjects in an hæsitation, a vacillation, an irresolution, where they shall fix them, whether upon their Soveraign, or a forraigne power, he is in the notion, and acceptation of enemy in this Text; an enemy, though no hostile act be done. It is not a war, it is but an enemy; not an invading, but a detaining enemy; and then this enemy is but one enemy, and yet he troubles, and retards the consummation of that Kingdome.

Antichrist alone is enemy enough; but never carry this consideration beyond thy self. As long as there remaines in thee one sin, or the sinfull ²²⁰ gain of that one sin, so long there is one enemy, and where there is one enemy, there is no peace. Gardners that husband their ground to the best advantage, sow all their seeds in such order, one under another, that their Garden is alwayes full of that which is then in season. If thou sin with that providence, with that seasonableness, that all thy spring, thy youth be spent in wantonnesse, all thy Summer, thy middle-age in ambition, and the wayes of preferment, and thy Autumne, thy Winter in indevotion and covetousnesse, though thou have no farther taste of licentiousnesse, in thy middle-age, thou hast thy satiety in that sin, nor of ambition in thy last yeares, thou hast accumulated titles of ²³⁰ honour, yet all the way thou hast had one enemy, and therefore never any perfect peace. But who is this one enemy in this Text? As long as we put it off, and as loath as we are to look this enemy in the face, yet we must, though it be Death. And this is *Vestigium quartum*, The fourth and next step in this paraphrase.

Surge & descende in domum figuli, sayes the Prophet *Ieremy*, that is, say the Expositors, to the consideration of thy Mortality. It is *Surge, descendere, Arise and go down*: A descent with an ascension: Our grave is upward, and our heart is upon *Jacobs* Ladder, in the way, and nearer to heaven. Our daily Funerals are some Emblemes ²⁴⁰ of that; for though we be laid down in the earth after, yet we are lifted up upon mens shoulders before. We rise in the descent to death, and so we do in the descent to the contemplation of it. In all the Potters house, is there one vessell made of better stiffe then clay? There is his matter. And of all formes, a Circle is the perfectest, and

Mors

Jer. 18.2

art thou loath to make up that Circle, with returning to the earth again?

Thou must, though thou be loath. *Fortasse*, sayes S. *Augustine*, That word of contingency, of casualty, Perchance, *In omnibus ferme rebus, præterquam in morte locum habet*: It hath roome in all humane actions excepting death. He makes his example thus: such a man is married; where he would, or at least where he must, where his parents, or his Gardian will have him; shall he have Children? *Fortasse*, sayes he, They are a yong couple, perchance they shall: And shall those Children be sons? *Fortasse*, they are of a strong constitution, perchance they shall: And shall those sons live to be men? *Fortasse*, they are from healthy parents, perchance they shall: And when they have lived to be men, shall they be good men? Such as good men may be glad they may live? *Fortasse*, still; They are of vertuous parents, it may be they shall: But when they are come to ²⁶⁰ that *Morientur*, shall those good men die? here, sayes that Father, the *Fortasse* vanishes; here it is *omnino, certè, sine dubitatione*; infallibly, inevitably, irrecoverably they must die. Doth not man die even in his birth? The breaking of prison is death, and what is our birth, but a breaking of prison? Assoon as we were clothed by God, our very apparell was an Embleme of death. In the skins of dead beasts, he covered the skins of dying men. Assoon as God set us on work, our very occupation was an Embleme of death; It was to digge the earth; not to digge pitfalls for other men, but graves for our selves. Hath any man here forgot to day, that yesterday is dead? And the ²⁷⁰ Bell tolls for to day, and will ring out anon; and for as much of every one of us, as appertaines to this day. *Quotidiè morimur, & tamen nos esse æternos putamus*, sayes S. *Hierome*; We die every day, and we die all the day long; and because we are not absolutely dead, we call that an eternity, an eternity of dying: And is there comfort in that state? why, that is the state of hell it self, Eternall dying, and not dead.

But for this there is enough said, by the Morall man; (that we may respite divine proofes, for divine points anon, for our severall Resurrections) for this death is meerly naturall, and it is enough that the Seneca ²⁸⁰ morall man sayes, *Mors lex, tributum, officium mortalium*. First it is *lex*, you were born under that law, upon that condition to die: so

it is a rebellious thing not to be content to die, it opposes the Law. Then it is *Tributum*, an imposition which nature the Queen of this world layes upon us, and which she will take, when and where she list; here a yong man, there an old man, here a happy, there a miserable man; And so it is a seditious thing not to be content to die, it opposes the prerogative. And lastly, it is *Officium*, men are to have their turnes, to take their time, and then to give way by death to successors; and so it is *Incivile, inofficiosum*, not to be content to die,

²⁹⁰ it opposes the frame and form of government. It comes equally to us all, and makes us all equall when it comes. The ashes of an Oak in the Chimney, are no Epitaph of that Oak, to tell me how high or how large that was; It tels me not what flocks it sheltered while it stood, nor what men it hurt when it fell. The dust of great persons graves is speechlesse too, it sayes nothing, it distinguishes nothing: As soon the dust of a wretch whom thou wouldest not, as of a Prince whom thou couldest not look upon, will trouble thine eyes, if the winde blow it thither; and when a whirle-winde hath blowne the dust of the Church-yard into the Church, and the man sweeps out

³⁰⁰ the dust of the Church into the Church-yard, who will undertake to sift those dusts again, and to pronounce, This is the Patrician, this is the noble flowre, and this the yeomanly, this the Plebeian bran? So is the death of *Iesabel* (*Iesabel* was a Queen) expressed; *They shall not say, this is Iesabel*; not only not wonder that it is, nor pity that it should be, but they shall not say, they shall not know, This is *Iesabel*. It comes to all, to all alike; but not alike welcome to all. To die too willingly, out of impatience to wish, or out of violence to hasten death, or to die too unwillingly, to murmur at Gods purpose revealed by age, or by sicknesse, are equall distempers; and to harbour

³¹⁰ a disobedient loathnesse all the way, or to entertain it at last, argues but an irreligious ignorance; An ignorance, that death is in nature but *Expiratio*, a breathing out, and we do that every minute; An ignorance that God himself took a day to rest in, and a good mans grave is his Sabbath; An ignorance that *Abel* the best of those whom we can compare with him, was the first that dyed. Howsoever, whensoever, all times are Gods times: *Vocantur boni ne diutiis vexentur à noxiis, mali ne diutiis bonos persequantur*, God calls the good to take them from their dangers, and God takes the bad to take them

2 Kings 9

August.

from their triumph. And therefore neither grudge that thou goest,
³²⁰ nor that worse stay, for God can make his profit of both; *Aut ideo vivit ut corrigatur, aut ideo ut per illum bonus exerceatur*; God re-prievies him to mend him, or to make another better by his exercise; and not to exult in the misery of another, but to glorifie God in the ways of his justice, let him know, *Quantumcunque serò, subitò ex hac vita tollitur, qui finem prævidere nescivit*: How long soever he live, how long soever he lie sick, that man dies a sudden death, who never thought of it. If we consider death in *S. Pauls Statutum est, It is decreed that all men must die*, there death is indifferent; If we consider it in his *Mori lucrum, that it is an advantage to die*, there death is

[Phil. 1.21]

³³⁰ good; and so much the vulgat Edition seemes to intimate, when (*Deut. 30.19.*) whereas we reade, I have set before you life and death, that reades it, *Vitam & bonum*, Life, and that which is good. If then death be at the worst indifferent, and to the good, good, how is it *Hostis*, an enemy to the Kingdome of Christ? for that also is *Vestigium quintum*, the fift and next step in this paraphrase.

Sap. 1.13

First God did not make death, saies the Wiseman, And therefore *S. Augustine* makes a reasonable prayer to God, *Ne permittas Domine quod non fecisti, dominari Creaturæ quam fecisti*; Suffer not O Lord, death, whom thou didst not make, to have dominion over me whom

Sap. 2 ult.

³⁴⁰ thou didst. Whence then came death? The same Wiseman hath shewed us the father, Through envy of the devill, came death into the world; and a wiser then he, the holy Ghost himselfe hath shewed us the Mother, *By sin came death into the world*. But yet if God have naturalized death, taken death into the number of his servants, and made Death his Commissioner to punish sin, and he doe but that, how is Death an enemy? First, he was an enemy in invading Christ, who was not in his Commission, because he had no sin; and still he is an enemie, because still he adheres to the enemy. Death hangs upon the edge of every persecutors sword; and upon the sting of every

Rom. 5.12

³⁵⁰ calumniators, and accusers tongue. In the Bull of Phalaris, in the Bulls of Basan, in the Buls of Babylon, the shrewdest Buls of all, in temporall, in spirituall persecutions, ever since God put an enmity between Man, and the Serpent, from the time of *Cain* who began in a murther, to the time of Antichrist, who proceeds in Massacres, Death hath adhered to the enemy, and so is an enemy.

Gregor.

[Rom. 6.23]

[Ezek.
33.11]

Jer. 9.21

Death hath a Commission, *Stipendium peccati mors est, The reward of sin is Death*, but where God gives a Supersedeas, upon that Commission, *Vivo Ego, nolo mortem, As I live saith the Lord, I would have no sinner dye*, not dye the second death, yet Death pro-
³⁶⁰ceeds to that execution: And whereas the enemy, whom he adheres to, the Serpent himselfe, hath power but *In calcaneo*, upon the heele, the lower, the mortall part, the body of man, *Death is come up into our windowes*, saith the Prophet, into our best lights, our understandings, and benights us there, either with ignorance, before sin, or with senselesnesse after: And a Sheriffe that should burne him, who were condemned to be hanged, were a murderer, though that man must have dyed: To come in by the doore, by the way of sicknesse upon the body, is, but to come in at the window by the way of sin, is not deaths Commission; God opens not that
³⁷⁰window.

So then he is an enemy, for they that adhere to the enemy are enemies: And adhering is not only a present subministration of supply to the enemy (for that death doth not) but it is also a disposition to assist the enemy, then when he shall be strong enough to make benefit of that assistance. And so death adheres; when sin and Satan have weakned body and minde, death enters upon both. And in that respect he is *Vltimus hostis*, the last enemy, and that is *Sextum vestigium*, our sixth and next step in this paraphrase.

Death is the last, and in that respect the worst enemy. In an
³⁸⁰enemy, that appeares at first, when we are or may be provided against him, there is some of that, which we call Honour: but in the enemie that reserves himselfe unto the last, and attends our weake estate, there is more danger. Keepe it, where I intend it, in that which is my spheare, the Conscience: If mine enemie meet me betimes in my youth, in an object of temptation, (so *Iosephs* enemie met him in *Putifars* Wife) yet if I doe not adhere to this enemy, dwell upon a delightfull meditation of that sin, if I doe not fuell, and foment that sin, assist and encourage that sin, by high diet, wanton discourse, other provocation, I shall have reason on my side, and I shall have grace on
³⁹⁰my side, and I shall have the History of a thousand that have perished by that sin, on my side; Even Spittles will give me soouldiers to fight for me, by their miserable example against that sin; nay perchance

*Novissimus
hostis*

sometimes the vertue of that woman, whom I sollicite, will assist me. But when I lye under the hands of that enemie, that hath reserved himselfe to the last, to my last bed, then when I shall be able to stir no limbe in any other measure then a Feaver or a Palsie shall shake them, when everlasting darknesse shall have an inchoation in the present dimnesse of mine eyes, and the everlasting gnashing in the present chattering of my teeth, and the everlasting worme in the present gnawing of the Agonies of my body, and anguishes of my minde, when the last enemie shall watch my remedlesse body, and my disconsolate soule there, there, where not the Physitian, in his way, perchance not the Priest in his, shall be able to give any assistance, And when he hath sported himselfe with my misery upon that stage, my death-bed, shall shift the Scene, and throw me from that bed, into the grave, and there triumph over me, God knowes, how many generations, till the Redeemer, my Redeemer, the Redeemer of all me, body, aswell as soule, come againe; As death is *Novissimus hostis*, the enemy which watches me, at my last weaknesse, and shall hold me, when I

[Rev. 10.5-6]

⁴⁰⁰ shall be no more, till that Angel come, *Who shall say, and sweare that time shall be no more*, in that consideration, in that apprehension, he is the powerfulest, the fearefulest enemy; and yet even there this enemy *Abolebitur*, he shall be destroyed, which is, *Septimum vestigium*, our seventh and last step in this paraphrase.

Abolebitur

Essay 25.8

This destruction, this abolition of this last enemy, is by the Resurrection; for this Text is part of an argument for the Resurrection. And truly, it is a faire intimation, and testimony of an everlastingnesse in that state of the Resurrection (that no time shall end it) that we have it presented to us in all the parts of time; in the past, in the present, and in the future. We had a Resurrection in prophecy; we have a Resurrection in the present working of Gods Spirit; we shall have a Resurrection in the finall consummation. The Prophet speaks in the future, *He will swallow up death in victory*, there it is *Abolebit*: All the Euangelists speak historically, of matter of fact, in them it is *Abolevit*. And here in this Apostle, it is in the present, *Abuletur*, now he is destroyed. And this exhibites unto us a threefold occasion of advancing our devotion, in considering a threefold Resurrection; First, a Resurrection from dejections and calamities in this world, a Temporary Resurrection; Secondly, a Resurrection from sin, a Spir-

⁴³⁰ tuall Resurrection; and then a Resurrection from the grave, a finall Resurrection.

A calamitate; When the Prophets speak of a Resurrection in the old Testament, for the most part their principall intention is, upon a temporall restitution from calamities that oppresse them then. Neither doth *Calvin* carry those emphaticall words, which are so often cited for a proofe of the last Resurrection: *That he knows his Redeemer lives, that he knows he shall stand the last man upon earth, that though his body be destroyed, yet in his flesh and with his eyes he shall see God*, to any higher sense then so, that how low soever he bee

⁴⁴⁰ brought, to what desperate state soever he be reduced in the eyes of the world, yet he assures himself of a Resurrection, a reparation, a restitution to his former bodily health, and worldly fortune which he had before. And such a Resurrection we all know *Job* had.

In that famous, and most considerable propheticall vision which God exhibited to *Ezekiel*, where God set the Prophet in a valley of very many, and very dry bones, and invites the severall joynts to knit again, tyes them with their old sinews, and ligaments, clothes them in their old flesh, wraps them in their old skin, and cals life into them again, Gods principall intention in that vision was thereby

⁴⁵⁰ to give them an assurance of a Resurrection from their present calamity, not but that there is also good evidence of the last Resurrection in that vision too; Thus far God argues with them *à re nota*; from that which they knew before, the finall Resurrection, he assures them that which they knew not till then, a present Resurrection from those pressures: Remember by this vision that which you all know already, that at last I shall re-unite the dead, and dry bones of all men in a generall Resurrection: And then if you remember, if you consider, if you look upon that, can you doubt, but that I who can do that, can also recollect you, from your present dispersion, and give you a Resur-

⁴⁶⁰ rection to your former temporall happiness? And this truly arises pregnantly, necessarily out of the Prophets answer; God asks him there, *Son of man, can these bones live?* And he answers, *Domine tu nōsti, O Lord God thou knowest*. The Prophet answers according to Gods intention in the question. If that had been for their living in the last Resurrection, *Ezekiel* would have answered God as *Mariha* answered Christ, when he said, *Thy brother Lazarus shall rise again,*

I
A calamitate

Job 19.25

[Ezek. 37]

John 11.24

I know that he shall rise again at the Resurrection at the last day; but when the question was, whether men so macerated, so scattered in this world, could have a Resurrection to their former temporall hap-

Heb. 11.35

⁴⁷⁰ *pinesse here, that puts the Prophet to his Domine tu nōsti, It is in thy breast to propose it, it is in thy hand to execute it, whether thou do it, or do it not, thy name be glorified; It fals not within our conjecture, which way it shall please thee to take for this Resurrection, Domine tu nōsti, Thou Lord, and thou only knowest; Which is also the sense of those words, Others were tortured, and accepted not a deliverance, that they might obtain a better Resurrection: A present deliverance had been a Resurrection, but to be the more sure of a better hereafter, they lesse respected that; According to that of our Saviour, He that findes his life, shall lose it; He that fixeth himself too earnestly upon*

Mat. 10.39

⁴⁸⁰ *this Resurrection, shall lose a better.*

Psal. 2.4
Psal. 46.9

[Job 30.9]

²
A peccatis

Apoc. 20.6

This is then the prophetical Resurrection for the future, but a future in this world; That if Rulers take counsell against the Lord, the Lord shall have their counsell in derision; If they take armes against the Lord, the Lord shall break their Bows, and cut their Speares in sunder; If they hisse, and gnash their teeth, and say, we have swallowed him up; If we be made their by-word, their parable, their proverb, their libell, the theame and burden of their songs, as *Job* complaines, yet whatsoever fall upon me, damage, distresse, scorn, or *Hostis ultimus*, death it self, that death which we consider here, ⁴⁹⁰ death of possessions, death of estimation, death of health, death of contentment, yet *Abolebitur*, it shall be destroyed in a Resurrection, in the return of the light of Gods countenance upon me even in this world. And this is the first Resurrection.

But this first Resurrection, which is but from temporall calamities, doth so little concerne a true and established Christian, whether it come or no, (for still *Jobs* Basis is his Basis, and his Centre, *Etiam si occiderit*, though he kill me, kill me, kill me, in all these severall deaths, and give me no Resurrection in this world, yet I will trust in him) as that, as though this first resurrection were no resurrection, not to be ⁵⁰⁰ numbred among the resurrections, S. *John* calls that which we call the second, which is from sin, the first resurrection: *Blessed and holy is he, who hath part in the first resurrection:* And this resurrection,

Christ implies, when he saies, *Verely, verely, I say unto you, the houre is comming, and now is, when the dead shall heare the voyce of the Son of God; and they that heare it shall live:* That is, by the voyce of the word of life, the Gospell of repentance, they shall have a spirituall resurrection to a new life.

John 5.25

S. *Austine* and *Lactantius* both were so hard in beleeving the roundnesse of the earth, that they thought that those *homines pensiles*, as ⁵¹⁰ they call them, those men that hang upon the other cheek of the face of the earth, those Antipodes, whose feet are directly against ours, must necessarily fall from the earth, if the earth be round. But whither should they fall? If they fall, they must fall upwards, for heaven is above them too, as it is to us. So if the spirituall Antipodes of this world, the Sons of God, that walk with feet opposed in wayes contrary to the sons of men, shall be said to fall, when they fall to repentence, to mortification, to a religious negligence, and contempt of the pleasures of this life, truly their fall is upwards, they fall towards heaven. *God gives breath unto the people upon the earth*, sayes the

⁵²⁰ Prophet, *Et spiritum his, qui calcant illam*. Our Translation carries that no farther, but that *God gives breath to people upon the earth, and spirit to them that walk thereon*; But *Irenæus* makes a usefull difference between *afflatus* and *spiritus*, that God gives breath to all upon earth, but his spirit onely to them, who tread in a religious scorne upon earthly things.

Esay 42.5

Is it not a strange phrase of the Apostle, *Mortifie your members; fornication, uncleanenesse, inordinate affections?* He does not say, mortifie your members against those sins, but he calls those very sins, the members of our bodies, as though we were elemented and ⁵³⁰ compacted of nothing but sin, till we come to this resurrection, this mortification, which is indeed our vivification; *Till we beare in our body, the dying of our Lord Iesus, that the life also of Iesus may be made manifest in our body*. God may give the other resurrection from worldly misery, and not give this. A widow may be rescued from the sorrow and solitariness of that state, by having a plentifull fortune; there she hath one resurrection; but *the widow that liveth in pleasure, is dead while she lives*; shee hath no second resurrection; and so in that sense, even this Chappell may be a Church-yard, men may stand,

Col. 3.5

2 Cor. 4.10

1 Tim. 5.6

and sit, and kneele, and yet be dead; and any Chamber alone may be
⁵⁴⁰ a *Golgotha*, a place of dead mens bones, of men not come to this resurrection, which is the renunciation of their beloved sin.

It was inhumanely said by *Vitellius*, upon the death of *Otho*, when he walked in the field of carcasses, where the battle was fought; O how sweet a perfume is a dead enemy! But it is a divine saying to thy soule, O what a savor of life, unto life, is the death of a beloved sin! What an Angelicall comfort was that to *Joseph* and *Mary* in *Ægypt*,

Mat. 2.20

after the death of *Herod*, *Arise, for they are dead, that sought the childe's life!* And even that comfort is multiplied upon thy soul, when the Spirit of God saies to thee, Arise, come to this resurrection: for

⁵⁵⁰ that *Herod*, that sin, that sought the life, the everlasting life of this childe, the childe of God, thy soule, is dead, dead by repentance, dead by mortification. The highest cruelty that story relates, or Poets imagine, is when a persecutor will not afford a miserable man death, not be so mercifull to him, as to take his life. Thou hast made thy

[Ecclus.

30.24

Vulg.;

23 A. V.]

sin, thy soule, thy life; inanimated all thy actions, all thy purposes with that sin. *Miserere animæ tuæ*, be so mercifull to thy selfe, as to

take away that life by mortification, by repentance, and thou art come to this Resurrection: and though a man may have the former resurrection, and not this, peace in his fortune, and yet not peace in his

⁵⁶⁰ conscience, yet whosoever hath this second, hath an infallible seale of the third resurrection too, to a fulnesse of glory in body, as well as in soule. For *Spiritus maturam efficit carnem, & capacem incorruptelæ*; this resurrection by the spirit, mellows the body of man, and makes that capable of everlasting glory, which is the last weapon, by which the last enemy death, shall be destroyed; *A morte.*

Irenaeus

Upon that pious ground that all Scriptures were written for us, as we are Christians, that all Scriptures conduce to the prooфе of Christ, and of the Christian state, it is the ordinary manner of the Fathers to make all that *David* speaks historically of himselfe, and all that the

⁵⁷⁰ Prophet speaks furely of the Jews, if those places may be referred to Christ, to referre them to Christ primarily, and but by reflection, and in a second consideration upon *David*, or upon the Jews. Thereupon doe the Fathers (truly I think more generally more unanimously then in any other place of Scripture) take that place of *Ezekiel* which we spake of before, to be primarily intended of the last resurrection, and

3

A morte

but secundarily of the Jews restitution. But *Gasper Sanctius* a learned Jesuit, (that is not so rare, but an ingenuous Jesuit too) though he be bound by the Council of Trent, to interpret Scriptures according to the Fathers, yet here he acknowledges the whole truth, that Gods pur-⁵⁸⁰ pose was to prove, by that which they did know, which was the generall resurrection, that which they knew not, their temporall restitution. *Tertullian* is vehement at first, but after, more supple. *Allegoricæ Scripturæ*, saies he, *resurrectionem subradianc aliae, aliae determinant*: Some figurative places of Scripture doe intimate a resurrection, and some manifest it; and of those manifest places he takes this vision of *Ezekiel* to be one. But he comes after to this, *Sit & corporum, & rerum, & með nihil interest*; let it signifie a temporall resurrection, so it may signifie the generall resurrection of our bodies too, saies he, and I am well satisfied; and then the truth satisfies him, for it doth signifie both.

⁵⁹⁰ It is true that *Tertullian* sayes, *De vacuo similitudo non competit*; If the vision be but a comparison, yet if there were no such thing as a resurrection, the comparison did not hold. *De nullo parabola non convenit*, saies he, and truly; If there were no resurrection to which that Parable might have relation, it were no Parable. All that is true; but there was a resurrection alwaies knowne to them, alwaies beleaved by them, and that made their present resurrection from that calamity, the more easie, the more intelligible, the more credible, the more discernable to them.

Let therefore Gods method, be thy method; fixe thy self firmly ⁶⁰⁰ upon that beliefe of the generall resurrection, and thou wilt never doubt of either of the particular resurrections, either from sin, by Gods grace, or from worldly calamities, by Gods power. For that last resurrection is the ground of all. By that *Verè victa mors*, saies *Irenæus*, this last enemy, death, is truly destroyed, because his last spoile, the body, is taken out of his hands. The same body, *eadem ovis*, (as the same Father notes) Christ did not fetch another sheep to the flock, in the place of that which was lost, but the same sheep: God shall not give me another, a better body at the resurrection, but the same body made better; for *Si non haberet caro salvari, neutiquam verbum Dei caro factum fuisset*, If the flesh of man were not to be saved, the Author of salvation would never have taken the flesh of man upon him.

Idem

Gen. 3.19

The punishment that God laid upon *Adam, In dolore & in sudore, In sweat, and in sorrow shalt thou eat thy bread*, is but *Donec reverteris, till man returne to dust*: but when Man is returned to dust,

Esay 26.19

God returns to the remembrance of that promise, *Awake and sing ye that dwell in the dust*. A mercy already exhibited, a promise allready performed unto us, in the person of our Saviour Christ Jesus, in whom, *Per primitias benedixit campo*, (saies S. Chrysostome) as God

⁶²⁰ by taking a handfull for the first Fruits, gave a blessing to the whole field; so he hath sealed the bodies of all mankind to his glory, by pre-assuming the body of Christ to that glory. For by that there is now *Commercium inter Cælum & terram*; there is a Trade driven, a Staple established betweene Heaven and earth; *Ibi caro nostra, hic Spiritus ejus*; Thither have we sent our flesh, and hither hath he sent his Spirit.

Bernard

This is the last abolition of this enemy, Death; for after this, the bodies of the Saints he cannot touch, the bodies of the damned he cannot kill, and if he could, hee were not therein their enemy, but ⁶³⁰ their friend. This is that blessed and glorious State, of which, when all the Apostles met to make the Creed, they could say no more, but *Credo Resurrectionem, I beleieve the Resurrection of the body*; and when those two Reverend Fathers, to whom it belongs, shall come to speake of it, upon the day proper for it, in this place, and if all the Bishops that ever met in Councils should meet them here, they could but second the Apostles *Credo*, with their *Anathema*, We beleieve, and woe be unto them that doe not beleieve the Resurrection of the body; but in going about to expresse it, the lips of an Angell would be uncircumcised lips, and the tongue of an Archangell would stammer. I

[Exod. 6.12, 30]

⁶⁴⁰ offer not therefore at it: but in respect of, and with relation to that blessed State, according to the doctrine, and practise of our Church, we doe pray for the dead; for the militant Church upon earth, and the triumphant Church in Heaven, and the whole Catholique Church in Heaven, and earth; we doe pray that God will be pleased to hasten that Kingdome, that we with all others departed in the true Faith of his holy Name, may have this perfect consummation, both of body and soule, in his everlasting glory, *Amen*.

[B.C.P.
Order for
the Burial of
the Dead]

Number 2.

Preached upon Easter-day. [1622]

1 THES. 4.17. *THEN WE WHICH ARE ALIVE, AND REMAIN, SHALL BE CAUGHT UP TOGETHER WITH THEM IN THE CLOUDS, TO MEET THE LORD IN THE AYRE; AND SO SHALL WE BE EVER WITH THE LORD.*

Ver. 14
IN THIS Epistle, our Apostle (according to his manner in all his Epistles) first establishes those to whom he writes, in those matters of faith, in which he had formerly instructed them; and then, rectifies them in matter of manners, of holinesse of life, and the wayes and fruits of sanctification. In this last part of this Chapter, he involves, he wraps up both together; a Fundamentall point, the Resurrection of the dead, and then, an instruction for manners arising out of that, That they mourn not intemperately for the dead, as they do (saith he) which have no hope of seeing them again, who¹⁰ are gone. For we know, that they which are gone, are gone but into another room of the same house, (this world, and the next, do but make up God a house) they are gone but into another Pue of the same Church, (the Militant and the Triumphant do but make up God a Church.) *If we beleeve that Iesus dyed, and rose again* (sayes our Apostle) *even so, them also, which sleep in Iesus, will God bring with him:* with him; For, howsoever they have lien ingloriously in the dust all this while, all this while they have been with God, and he shall bring them with him. But the Thessalonians were not so hard in beleeving the Resurrection, as curious in enquiring the order of the²⁰ Resurrection. And as among the Corinthians some inquired *de modo,*

1 Cor. 15.35

How are the dead raised, and with what body do they come? So among the Thessalonians some inquired, *de Ordine*, in what order, for precedency, shall the last scene of this last act of man, be transacted? What difference between them that were dead thousands of yeares before, and them whom Christ shall finde alive at his second comming? Them the Apostle satisfies; *We that are alive, shall not prevent them that are asleep*, we shall not enter into heaven before them; *The dead in Christ shall first rise*, says he; and then, (then enters our Text) *Then we which are alive, and remain, shall be caught up together with them in the clouds, to mee the Lord in the ayre, and so shall be ever with the Lord.*

Divisio

Then. When? This *Then* in our text, is an apprehensive, and a comprehensive word. It reaches to, and layes hold upon that which the Apostle sayes before the text, in the fifteenth and sixteenth verses. *Then, when the dead in Christ are first risen, and risen by Christs comming down from heaven, in clamore, in a shout, in the voice of the Archangel, and in the Trumpet of God, Then, when that is done, We that are alive, and remain, shall bee wrought upon, and all being joyned in one body, They, and we together, shall be caught up in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the ayre, and so shall we be ever with the Lord.* So that, in these words we shall have three things to consider, which will constitute three parts in this exercise. First, the raising of those that were dead before; Secondly, the changing of them who are alive then; And lastly, our union in our exaltation, and possession of the kingdome of God, We, together with them, shall be caught up.

Neither of these three parts will be swallowed down in a generality; There must passe a Mastication, a re-division into more particular branches upon them all. For, in the first, which the first word of our Text, *Then* induces, which is the raising of them who were dead before, we shall consider first, That the dead are not forgotten, though they have dwelt long in the house of forgetfulness, nor lost, though they have lyen long in the dust of dispersion, nor neglected, nor deferred, that others might be preferred before them, which shall be alive then, for, says the Apostle, *We shall not prevent them*, but they shall rise first; How shall they rise? For, that is also a second consideration, induced by our first word, *Then*, Then when they shal be raised *in virtute Christi*, in the power of Christ, for, says the Text,

The Lord himself shall descend from heaven to raise them. And how shall he exercise, how shall he execute, and declare his power in their ⁶⁰ raising? It shall be *In clamore, with a shout, and in the voyce of the Arch-angel, and the Trumpet of God.* And in these three Branches, That the dead shall rise first, That they shall rise in the power of Christ, That that power shall be thus expressed, *In a shout, in the voyce of the Arch-angell, in the Trumpet of God,* we shall determine that first Part. When that is done, and done so, we shall be wrought upon, *We that are alive and remain then;* where we shall first see, that some shall be alive, and remain then, when Christ comes, And then consider their state and condition, how they being then cloathed with bodies of corruption shall be capable of that present entrance into ⁷⁰ glory; and in that disquisition we shall end our second Part. And then, in our third and last part, The glorious Union of these two Armies, Those which were dead, and those which are alive, we shall consider first, That here is no mention at all, of any Resurrection of the wicked, but onely of them *that sleep in Christ;* They shall rise; And then, those that are to partake of this glory, are thus proceeded with; *They are caught up, Rapiuntur; Caught up in the Clouds, In Nubibus; Exalted into the Ayre, In Aëra; There to meet the Lord, Obviam Domino;* And *so to be with the Lord for ever.* We shall be, and be with the Lord, and be with the Lord for ever; which are ⁸⁰ blessed and glorious gradations, if we may have time to insist upon them; which we may best hope for this day of all others; for, this day, we have two dayes in one. This day both Gods Sons arose; The Sun of his Firmament, and the Son of his bosome. And if one Sun doe set upon us, the other will stay, as long as our devotion last. God went not from *Abraham,* till *Abraham* had no more to say; No more will Christ from us.

First then, for our first Branch of our first part, the rising of the dead, the first man that was laid in the dust of the earth, *Abel,* loses nothing by lying so long there; He loses nothing, that men of later ⁹⁰ ages gain; For, if we live to the comming of Christ to Judgement, we shall not prevent them, we shall have no precedency of them, that were dead ages before. No man is superannuated in the grave, that he is too old to enter into heaven, where the Master of the house is *The ancient of dayes.* No man is bed-rid with age in the grave, that he

Gen. 18 ult.

1 Part

[Dan. 7.9]

- Psal. 56.8 cannot rise. It is not with God, as it is with man; we doe, but God does not forget the dead; and, as long as God is with them, they are with him. *As he puts all thy teares into his bottles*, so he puts all the graines of thy dust into his Cabinet, and the windes that scatter, the waters that wash them away, carry them not out of his sight. *He remembers that we are but dust*; but dust then when we lie in the grave; and yet he remembers us. But his memory goes farther then so, He remembers that we were but dust alive, at our best; *They dye*, sayes *David*, and *they returne to their own dust*. It is not an entring into a new state, when they dye, but a returning to their old, *They return to dust*; And it is not to that dust which is cast upon them, in the grave, (for that may be another mans dust) but to that dust which they carried about them in their bodies, *They returne*, and *to dust*, and *to their own dust*.
- Numb. 23.10 Nor is dust so inglorious a thing, but that God gives a dignity to dust, when he admits it into comparison to expresse the multiplication, the accumulation of his blessings upon *Abraham*, *I will make thy seed as the dust of the earth*; not for weaknesse, but for infinitenesse; And so, to the same purpose of expressing greatnessse, *Balaam* uses this Metaphore of dust, *Who can count the dust of Iacob, and the number of the fourth part of Israel?* Neither does *Abraham* think it any diminution to lie in the dust of the earth, when he is dead, for he professes that he walks in the dust of the earth, in himself, whilst he is alive, *I have taken upon me to speak to the Lord being but dust*. And when *David* seemes to fear the dust of death, (*lighten mine eyes*, ¹²⁰ *lest they sleep the sleep of death*) it is not that he suspects any detriment to himself by death, that he shall be the worse by dying, but that God may lose of his glory, when (as he addes there) *the enemy shall say, we have prevailed against him*. For, as in the Primitive Church, those that seeme prayers for the dead, at Funeralls, are, indeed, but thanksgivings to God, in their behalf that are departed; so, as often as *David* expresses himself in that Patheticall manner, *Awake, O Lord, why sleepest thou? arise, and cast us not off for ever*, it is a thanksgiving that he hath not, and a prayer that he would not forget them. When he sayes, *Will God be favourable no more?* he meanes, ¹³⁰ I am sure he will. *Is his mercy cleane gone for ever? Doth his promise faile for ever? Hath God forgot to be gracious? Hath he shut up his mercy in anger?* All these imply a kinde of confidence that he hath not.
- Gen. 13.16 Psal. 13.3 Psal. 44.23 Psal. 77.7

And, as it is in that Resurrection of which *David* speaks most literally in those places, (that is, The Resurrection from the calamities and oppressions of this world) so is it in the Resurrection from the dust of the grave too; *Thou hast brought me to the dust of the grave; but, be not thou farre from me;* That is, when thou shalt bring me to the dust of the grave, thou wilt not be farre from me. And, when he says, (in apparence) by way of expostulation, and jealousie, and ¹⁴⁰ suspition, *Will God shew wonders to the dead? shall the dead arise and praise him? shall his loving kindnesse be declared in the grave, or his faithfulness in destruction?* All these passionate interrogatories, and vehement expostulations may safely be resolved into these Doctrinall propositions, Yes, God will shew wonders to the dead, The dead shall rise and praise him, His loving kindnesse shall be declared in the grave, and his faithfulness in destruction. For, *God will not forget the Congregation of his poore for ever.* The poore of this world, are our poore; Gods poore are thy that lie in the dust, the dust of the grave, the dead; of whom, God hath a greater Congregation under ¹⁵⁰ ground, then of the living upon the face of the earth; And, God will not forget the congregation of his poore for ever. *Finitus est eorum pulvis;* That which we translate, *Their Extortioner is at an end,* their Oppressor is at an end, is in S. *Hierome*, *Their dust is at an end;* that is, there comes a time, when the dust of the grave shall oppresse them no longer. When? Truly, that time is virtually, and in an infallibility come already; as those other words of the same Prophet, may admit an accommodation in the person of Christ, *Thy dead men shall live;* When? *Together with my dead body they shall rise.* Consider, by occasion of those words, a promise, long before Christs Resurrection, ¹⁶⁰ that all they which slept in Christ should rise in him, *with my dead body they shall rise;* And then consider the performance of this promise in the Apostle, *Consurrexerunt, together with Christ, all that slept in him,* (nay, all that fell asleep since he waked, all that dyed since he rose) *did arise.* Virtually, and infallibly they did. And, for the actuall accomplishment of this Resurrection in every individuall person, they that were laid in the grave in the first ages, lose no time. For, there is no time of entring into heaven, till the Lord come to fetch us; And then, they that are dead, shall be so farre from being

Psal. 22.15
and 19

Psal. 88.10

Psal. 74.19

Esay 16.4

Esay 26.19

Eph. 2.6

pretermitted, as that they shall first be raised before any thing be done
¹⁷⁰ upon us. But how shall they be raised, by what power? (for that is a second Consideration induced also by this first word of our Text, *Then*, when the Lord shall have descended from heaven to raise them) Then when they are raised, *In virtute Christi*, in the virtue and power of Christ.

In virtute

Christi

Mat. 13.43

Then, (sayes our blessed Saviour, speaking of the Resurrection) *then, shall the righteous shine forth as the Sun*; And wheresoever we are called the Sun, compared, assimilated to the Sun, Christ is our Zodiake; In him we move, from the beginning to the end of our Circle. And therefore, as the last point of our Circle, our resurrection ¹⁸⁰ determines in him, in Christ; so, the first point of our Circle, our first adoption began in him, in Christ too. And, if I were adopted in Christ, (in Christ who is a Redeemer of sinners) I was adopted in the condition, and in the consideration of a sinner, and such a sinner as should, as would lay hold upon this Christ, this Redeemer. Christ is the Resurrection; so Christ is the Adoption; If there be a Resurrection in him, there were some dead before; If there be an Adoption in him, there are some sinners before. The first look that God casts upon us, is in Christ, and therefore the first consideration that he takes of us, is, as we are sinners; He adopts none but penitent sinners, he ¹⁹⁰ reproves none but impenitent sinners. In him also the dead are raised; that is, in that power, which he was raised by, The power of God. For, still that phrase is ingeminated, iterated, multiplied, *Suscitavit Deus, suscitatus à Deo, God raised Christ from the dead, and Christ was raised from the dead by God*. And when it is said by the Angell to the women, *Surrexit, He is risen*, (risen of himself, as the word sounds) And when by those two which went with Christ to *Emaus*, it is said at their return to Jerusalem, to the eleven Apostles, *surrexit verè, Hee is risen indeed*, (risen of himself, as the word sounds) yet that phrase and expression, *He is risen*, if there were no more in it, ²⁰⁰ but that expression, and that phrase, would not conclude Christs rising to have been *in virtute propria*, in his own power. For, of *Dorcas* who was raised from the dead, it is said, *Resedit, she sate up*, and of *Lazarus*, *Prodiit, he came forth*; and yet, these actions thus ascribed to themselves, were done *in virtute aliena*, in the power of another. Christs Resurrection was not so, *In virtute aliena*, in the

Mat. 28.6

Luke 24.34

Acts 9.40

John

11. [44]

power of another, if you consider his whole person, God and Man, but it was *aliena à filio Mariæ*; Christ as the Son of *Mary* rose not by his own power. It was by his own; but his own, because he was God, as well as man. Nor could all the Magick in the world have raised ²¹⁰ him sooner, then by that his power, (his, as God) he (that is, that person, God and man) was pleased to rise. So sits he now at the right hand of his Father in heaven; nor can all the Consecrations of the Romane Priests either remove him from thence, or multiply him to a bodily being any where else, till his time of comming to Judgment, come. Then, and not till then, *The Lord himself shall descend from heaven, in clamore, says the Text, in a shout, with the voyce of the Arch-angell, and with the Trumpet of God*, which circumstances constitute our third, and last Branch of this first Part. The dead shall rise first, They shall rise in the power of Christ, (therefore Christ is ²²⁰ God; for Christ himself rose in the power of God) and that power shall be thus declared, *In a shout, in the voyce of the Arch-Angell, in the Trumpet of God.*

The dead heare not Thunder, nor feele they an Earth-quake. If the Canon batter that Church walls, in which they lye buryed, it wakes not them, nor does it shake or affect them, if that dust, which they are, be thrown out, but yet there is a voyce, which the dead shall heare; *The dead shall heare the voyce of the Son of God*, (says the Son of God himself) *and they that heare shall live*; And that is the voyce of our Text. It is here called a clamour, a vociferation, a shout, ²³⁰ and varied by our Translators, and Expositors, according to the origination of the word, to be *clamor hortatorius*, and *suasorius*, and *jussorius*, A voyce that carries with it a penetration, (all shall heare it) and a perswasion, (all shall beleive it, and be glad of it) and a power, a command, (all shall obey it.) Since that voyce at the Creation, *Fiat*, Let there be a world, was never heard such a voyce as this, *Surgite mortui, Arise ye dead*. That was spoken to that that was merely nothing, and this to them, who in themselves shall have no cooperation, no concurrence to the hearing or answering this voyce.

The power of this voyce is exalted in that it is said to be the *voynce of the Archangel*. Though legions of Angels, millions of Angels shall be employed about the Resurrection, to recollect their scattered dust, and recompact their ruined bodies, yet those bodies so recompact, shall

In clamore

John 5.25

*In voce
Archangeli*

not be able to heare a voyce. They shall be then but such bodies, as they were when they were laid downe in the grave, when, though they were intire bodies, they could not heare the voice of the mourner. But this voyce of the Archangel shall enable them to heare; The Archangel shall re-infuse the severall soules into their bodies, and so they shall heare that voyce, *Surgite mortui, Arise ye that were dead, and they shall arise.* And here we are eased of that disputation,

²⁵⁰ whether there be many Archangels, or no, for, if there be but one, yet this in our text, is he, for, it is not said, In the voyce of *An Archangell*, but of *The Archangell*; if not the Only, yet he who comprehends them all, and in whom they all consist, Christ Jesus.

Colos. 1.16
[and 17]
Tuba Dei

1 Sam. 26.12

In clamore

[Zech. 10.8]

*In voce
Archangeli*

And then, the power of this voyce is exalted to the highest in the last word, that it is, *Tuba Dei, The Trumpet of God.* For, that is an Hebraisme, and in that language, it constitutes a superlative, to adde the name of God to any thing. As in *Sauls* case, when *David* surprised him, in his dead sleepe, it is said, that *Sopor Domini, The sleepe of the Lord was upon him*, that is, the heaviest, the deadeast sleepe that ²⁶⁰ could be imagined, so here, *The Trumpet of God* is the loudest voice that we conceive God to speake in.

All these pieces, that it is *In clamore, In a cry, in a shout*, that it is *In the voyce of the Archangell*, that it is *In the Trumpet of God*, make up this Conclusion, That all Resurrections from the dead, must be from the voice of God, and from his loud voice; It must be so, even in thy first Resurrection, thy resurrection from sin, by grace here; here, thou needest the voice of God, and his loud voyce. And therefore, though thou thinke thou heare sometimes Gods sibilations, (as the Prophet *Zechary* speaks) Gods soft and whispering voyce, (²⁷⁰ inward remorses of thine owne; and motions of the Spirit of God to thy spirit) yet thinke not thy spirituall resurrection accomplished, till, in this place, thou heare his loud voyce; Till thou heare Christ descending from Heaven, (as the text sayes) that is, working in his Church; Till thou heare him *In clamore*, in this cry, in this shout, in this voyce of Penetration, of perswasion, of power, that is, till thou feele in thy selfe in this place a liquefaction, a colliquation, a melting of they bowels under the commination of the Judgements of God upon thy sin, and the application of his mercy to thy Repentance.

And then, this thou must heare *In voce Archangeli*, In the voice of

²⁸⁰ the Archangel. S. *Iohn* in the beginning of the Revelation, calls every Governour of a Church an Angel. And much respect and reverence, much faith, and credit behoves it thee to give to thine Angell, to the Pastour of that Church, in which God hath given thee thy station; for, he is thine Angel, thy Tutelar, thy guardian Angell. *Men should seek the Law at the mouth of the Priest*, saies God in *Malachi*; (of that Priest that is set over him) For, *the lips of the Priest*, (of every Priest, to whom the soules of others are committed) *should preserve knowledge*, should be able to instruct and rectifie his flock, *Quia Angelus Domini Exercituum*, because every such Priest is the Angell

Mal. 2.7

²⁹⁰ of the Lord of Hosts. Hearken thou therefore, to that Angel, thine Angel. But here thou art directed above thine Angell to the Archangell. Now, not the governour of any particular Church, but he *Who hath purchased the whole Church with his blood*, *He who onely is head of the whole Church*, Christ Jesus, is this *Archangell*; Heare him. It is the voyce of the Archangell, (that is, the true and sincere word of God) that must raise thee from the death of sin, to the life of grace. If therefore any Angell differ from the Archangell, and preach other then the true and sincere word of God, *Anathema*, saies the Apostle, let that Angell be accursed. And take thou heed of

Acts 20.28
Ephes. 5.23

³⁰⁰ over-affecting, overvaluing the gifts of any man so, as that thou take the voice of an Angell, for the voyce of the Archangell, any thing that that man saies, for the word of God.

Gal. 1.8

Yet thou must heare this voice of the Archangell in the Trumpet of God. The Trumpet of God is his loudest Instrument; and his loudest Instrument is his publique Ordinance in the Church; Prayer, Preaching, and Sacraments; Heare him in these; In all these; come not to heare him in the Sermon alone, but come to him in Prayer, and in the Sacrament too. For, except the voyce come in the Trumpet of God, (that is, in the publique Ordinance of his Church) thou canst

In Tuba Dei

³¹⁰ not know it to be the voyce of the Archangell. Pretended services of God, in schismatical Conventicles, are not in the Trumpet of God, and therefore not the voyce of the Archangell, and so, not the meanes ordained for thy spirituall resurrection. And, as our last resurrection from the grave, is rooted in the personall resurrection of Christ, (*For, if Christ be not raised from the dead, we are yet in our sins*, (saies the Apostle) But why so? Because, to deliver us from sin,

1 Cor. 15.17

Ver. 15

Christ was to destroy all our enemies; Now, the last enemy is Death; and last time that Death and Christ met, (upon the Crosse) Death overcame him, and therefore, except he be risen from the power of ³²⁰ Death, we are yet in our sins) as we roote our last resurrection in the person of Christ, so do we our first resurrection in him, in his word, exhibited in his Ordinance, for, that is the voice of the Archangell in the Trumpet of God. And as the Apostle saies here, This we say unto you, by the word of the Lord, that thus the last resurrection shall be accomplished by Christ himselfe, so, this we say to you, by the Word of the Lord, (by the harmony of all the Scriptures) thus, and no other way, By the pure word of God, delivered and applied by his publique Ordinance, by Hearing, and Beleeving, and Practising, under the Seales of the Church, the Sacraments, is your first ³³⁰ resurrection from sin, by grace, accomplished. So have you then those three branches, which constitute our first part; That they that are dead before us, shall not be prevented by us, but they shall rise first; That they shall be raised by the power of Christ, that is, the power of God in Christ; That that power, working to their resurrection, shall be declared in a mighty voyce, the voyce of the Archangell, in the Trumpet of God. And then, then when they who were formerly dead, are first raised, and raised by this Power, and this power thus declared, then shall we, we who shall be then alive and remaine, be wrought upon; which is our second, and our next generall part.

2 Part

Nos

2 Thes. 2.2

³⁴⁰ When the Apostle sayes here, *Nos qui vivimus, We that are alive, and remaine*, would he not be thought to speake this of himselfe, and the Thessalonians to whom he writes? Doe not the words import that? That he, and they should live till Christs comming to Judgement? Some certainly had taken him so; But he complaines that he was mistaken; *We beseech you brethren, be not soone shaken in minde, nor troubled, by word or letter, as from us, that the day of the Lord is at hand*; so at hand, as that we determine it in our dayes, in our life. So that the Apostle speaks here, but Hypothetically; he does but put a case, That if it should be Gods pleasure to continue them in ³⁵⁰ the world, till the comming of his Son Christ Jesus, thus and thus they should be proceeded withall; for, thus and thus shall they be proceeded with, sayes he, that shall then be alive. Our blessed Saviour hath such a manner of speech, of an ambiguous sense, in S. *Matthew*,

That there were some standing there, that should not taste of death, till they saw the Son of man comming in his Kingdome. And this might give them just occasion to think, that that Kingdome into which the Judgement shall enter us, was at hand; For, the words which Christ spoke immediately before those, were evidently, undeniably spoken of that last, and everlasting kingdome of glory, *The*

³⁶⁰ *Son of man shall come in the glory of his Father, with his Angels, &c.*

Then follows, *Some standing here shall live to see this.* And yet Christ did not speak this of that last kingdome of glory; but either he spoke it of that manifestation of that kingdome which was shewed to some of them, (to *Peter, and Iames, and Iohn*) in the Transfiguration of Christ, (for the Transfiguration was a representation of the kingdome of glory) or else he spoke it of that inchoation of the kingdome of glory, which shined out in the kingdome of grace, which all the Apostles lived to see, in the personall comming of the Holy Ghost, and in his powerfull working in the conversion of Nations in their

³⁷⁰ life time.

And this is an inexpressible comfort to us, That our blessed Saviour thus mingles his Kingdomes, that he makes the Kingdome of Grace, and the Kingdome of Glory, all one; the Church, and Heaven all one; and assures us, That if we see him *In hoc speculo, in this his Glasse,* in his Ordinance, in his Kingdome of Grace, we have already begun to see him *facie ad faciem, face to face,* in his Kingdome of Glory; If we see him *Sicuti manifestatur,* as he looks in his Word, and Sacra-ments, in his Kingdome of Grace, we have begun to see him, *Sicuti est,* As he is, in his Essence, in the Kingdome of Glory; And when we

³⁸⁰ pray, *Thy kingdome come,* and mean but the Kingdome of Grace, he gives us more then we ask, an inchoative comprehension of the Kingdome of Glory, in this life. This is his inexpressible mercy, that he mingles his Kingdomes, and where he gives one, gives both. So is there also a faire beam of comfort exhibited to us in this Text, That the number reserved for that Kingdome of Glory, is no small number. For though *David said, The Lord looked down from heaven, and saw not one that did good, no not one,* (there it is lesse than a few) though when the times had better means to be better, when Christ preached personally upon the earth, when one Centurion had but replyed to

³⁹⁰ Christ, Sir, you need not trouble your self to go to my house, if you

[1 Cor.
13.12]

[Mat. 6.10]

Psal. 14.2

Mat. 8.10

do but say the word here, my servant will be well, Christ said in his behalfe, *Verily I have not found so great faith, no not in Israel*; When Christ makes so much of this single grain of Mustard-seed, this little faith, as to prefer it before all the faith of Israel, surely faith went very low in Israel at that time, Nay, when Christ himself sayes, speaking of his last comming, after so many ages preaching of the Gospell,

Luk. 18.8

When the Son of man comes, shall he finde faith upon earth, any faith? We have I say, a blessed beam of comfort shining out of this text, that it is no small number that is reserved for that Kingdome;

⁴⁰⁰ For, whether the Apostle speak this of himself and the Thessalonians, or of others, he speaks not as of a few, but that by Christ having

[Mat. 7.14]

preached the narrownesse of the way, and the straitnesse of the gate, our holy industry and endeavour is so much exalted, (which was Christ's principall end in taking those Metaphors of narrow wayes, and strait gates, not to make any man suspect an impossibility of entring, but to be the more industrious and endeavorous in seeking it) that as he hath sent workmen in plenty, (abundant preaching) so he shall return a plentifull harvest, a glorious addition to his Kingdome, both of those which slept in him before, and of those

⁴¹⁰ which shall be then alive, fit, all together, to be caught up in the clouds to meet him, and be with him for ever; for these two armies imply no small number. Now, of the condition of these men, who shall be then alive, and how being clothed in bodies of corruption, they become capable of the glory of this text, in our first distribution, we proposed that for a particular consideration, and the other branch of this second part, and to that, in that order, we are come now.

Immu-
tabimur

I scarce know a place of Scripture, more diversly read, and consequently more variously interpreted then that place, which should most enlighten us, in this consideration presently under our hands;

1 Cor. 15.51

⁴²⁰ which is that place to the Corinthians, *Non omnes dormiemus, We shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed*. The Apostle professes there to deliver us a mystery, (*Behold, I shew you a mystery*) but Translators and Expositors have multiplied mysticall clouds upon the words. S. Chrysostome reads these words as we do, *Non dormiemus, We shall not all sleep*, but thereupon he argues, and concludes, that wee shall not all die. The common reading of the ancients is contrary to that, *Omnes dormiemus, sed non, &c. We shall all sleep*,

Chrysost.

but we shall not all be changed. The vulgat Edition in the Romane Church differs from both, and as much from the originall, as from ⁴³⁰ either, *Omnes resurgemus, We shall all rise again, but we shall not all be changed.* S. Hierome examines the two readings, and then leaves the reader to his choice, as a thing indifferent. S. *Augustine* doth so too, and concludes *æquè Catholicos esse*, That they are as good Catholiques that reade it the one way, as the other. But howsoever, that which S. *Chrysostome* collects upon his reading, may not be maintained. He reads as we do; and without all doubt aright, *We shall not all sleep; But what then? Therefore shall we not all die? To sleep there, is to rest in the grave, to continue in the state of the dead, and so we shall not all sleep, not continue in the state of the* ⁴⁴⁰ dead. But yet, *Statutum est*, sayes the Apostle, as verily as Christ was once offered to beare our sinnes, so verily *is it appointed to every man once to die; And, as verily as by one man, sinne entred into the world, and death by sinne, so verily death passed upon all men, for that all men have sinned;* So the Apostle institutes the comparison, so he constitutes the doctrine, in those two places of Scripture, As verily as Christ dyed for all, all shall die, As verily as every man sins, every man shall die.

Heb. 9.27

Rom. 5.12

In that change then, which we who are then alive, shall receive, (for though we shall not all sleep, we shall all be changed) we shall ⁴⁵⁰ have a present dissolution of body and soul, and that is truly a death, and a present redintegration of the same body and the same soul, and that is truly a Resurrection; we shall die, and be alive again, before another could consider that we were dead; but yet this shall not be done in an absolute instant; some succession of time, though undiscernible there is. It shall be done *In raptu*, in a rapture; but even in a rapture there is a motion, a transition from one to another place. It shall be done, sayes he, *In ictu oculi, In the twinkling of an eye;* But even in the twinkling of an eie, there is a shutting of the eie-lids, and an opening of them again; Neither of these is done in an absolute ⁴⁶⁰ instant, but requires some succession of time. The Apostle, in the Resurrection in our text, constitutes a *Prius*, something to be done first, and something after; first those that were dead in Christ shall rise first, and then, Then when that is done, after that, not all at once, we that are alive shall be wrought upon, we shall be changed,

[1 Cor.
15.52]

our change comes after their rising; so in our change there is a *Prius* too, first we shall be dissolved, (so we die) and then we shall be re-compact, (so we rise again) This is the difference, they that sleep in the grave, put off, and depart with the very substance of the body, it is no longer flesh, but dust, they that are changed at the last ⁴⁷⁰ day, put off, and depart with, only the qualities of the body, as mortality and corruption; It is still the same body, without resolving into dust, but the first step that it makes, is into glory.

Now transfer this to the spirituall Resurrection of thy soul by grace, here. Here, Grace works not that Resurrection upon thy soul, in an absolute instant. And therefore suspect not Gods gracious purpose upon thee, if thou beest not presently, throughly recovered. God could have made all the world in one day, and so have come sooner to his Sabbath, his rest; but he wrought more, to give us an example of labour, and of patience, in attending his leisure in our second ⁴⁸⁰ Creation, this Resurrection from sin, as we did in our first Creation, when we were not made till the sixth day. But remember too, that the last Resurrection, from death, is to be transacted quickly, speedily; And in thy first, thy spirituall Resurrection from sin, make haste. The last is to be done *In raptu*, in a rapture; Let this rapture in the first Resurrection be, to teare thy self from that company and conversation that leads thee into temptation. The last is to be done *In ictu oculi*, In the twinkling of an eye; Let that, in thy first Resurrection be, The shutting of thine eyes from looking upon things in things, upon creatures in creatures, upon beauty in that face that misleads ⁴⁹⁰ thee, or upon honour in that place that possesses thee; And let the opening of thine eyes be, to look upon God in every object, to represent to thy self the beauty of his holinesse, and the honour of his service in every action. And in this rapture, and in this twinkling of an eye, will thy Resurrection soon, though not suddenly, speedily, though not instantly be accomplished. And if God take thee out of the world, before thou think it throughly accomplished, yet he shall call thine inchoation, consummation, thine endeavour, performance, and thy desire, effect. For all Gods works are intire, and done in him, at once, and perfect as soon as begun; And this spirituall Resurrection ⁵⁰⁰ is his work, and therefore quickned even in the Conception, and borne even in the quickning, and grown up even in the birth, that is,

perfected in the eyes of God, as soone as it is seriously intended in our heart. And farther we carry not your consideration upon those two Branches which constitute our second Part, That some shall be alive at Christ's comming, That they that are alive, shall receive such a change, as shall be a true death, and a true Resurrection, And so *shall be caught up into the Clouds, to meet the Lord in the Aire, and so be with the Lord for ever*; which are the Circumstances of our third, and last Part.

⁵¹⁰ In this last part, we proposed it for the first Consideration, that the Apostle determines the Consideration of the Resurrection in those two, Them, and Us, *They that slept in Christ, and We that expect the comming of Christ*. Of any Resurrection of the wicked, here is no mention. Not that there is not one; but that the resurrection of the wicked conduced not to the Apostle's purpose, which was to minister comfort in the losse of the dead, because they were to come again, and to meet the Lord, and to be with him for ever; whereas, in the Resurrection of the wicked, who are only to rise, that they may fall lower, there is no argument of comfort. And therefore our Saviour Christ

3 Part
Resurrectio
justom

⁵²⁰ determines his Commission in that, *This is the Fathers will that sent me, that of all which he hath given me, I should lose nothing, but should raise it up again at the last day*. This was his not losing, if it were raised again; but, he hath only them in charge to raise at the last day, whom the Father had given him; given him so, as that they were to be with him for ever; for others he never mentions.

John 6.39

And upon this, much, very much depends. For, this forbearing to mention the resurrection of the wicked with the righteous, gave occasion to many in the Primitive Church, to imagine a two-fold, a former and a later Resurrection; which was furthered by their mistaking of

Chiliastæ

⁵³⁰ those words in S. John, *Blessed and holy is he that hath part in the first Resurrection*; which words, being intended of the Resurrection from sin, by grace, in this life, the *Chiliasts, the Millenarians*, interpreted of this Resurrection in our Text, That at Christ's comming, the righteous should rise, and live a thousand yeares, (as S. John sayes) in all temporall abundances, with Christ here, in recompence of those temporall calamities, and oppressions, which here they had suffered; and then, after those thousand yeares, so spent with Christ, in temporall abundances, should follow the resurrection of the wicked;

Apoc. 20.6

and then the wicked, and the righteous should be disposed and dis-
⁵¹⁰tributed and setled in those Mansions, in which they should remain
 for ever. And of this error, (as very many of the Fathers persisted
 in it to the end) S. *Augustine* himself had a touch, and a tincture, at
 beginning. And this error, S. *Hierome* also, (though truly, I think,
 S. *Hierome* was never touched with it himselfe) out of a reverence
 to those many, and great men, that were, (*Irenæus*, *Tertullian*,
Lactantius, and the rest) would never call an Heresie, nor an Error,
 nor by any sharper name, then an opinion, which is no word of heavy
 detestation.

Pagani

And as those blessed Fathers of tender bowels, enlarged themselves
⁵⁵⁰ in this distribution, and apportioning the mercy of God, that it con-
 sisted best with the nature of his mercy, that as his Saints had suffered
 temporall calamities in this world, in this world they should be
 recompenced with temporall abundances, so did they inlarge this
 mercy farther, and carry it even to the Gentiles, to the Pagans that
 had no knowledge of Christ in any established Church. You shall
 not finde a *Trismegistus*, a *Numa Pompilius*, a *Plato*, a *Socrates*, for
 whose salvation you shall not finde some Father, or some Ancient and
 Reverend Author, an Advocate. In which liberality of Gods mercy,
 those tender Fathers proceed partly upon that rule, That in *Trisme-*
⁵⁶⁰*gistus*, and in the rest, they finde evident impressions, and testimonies,
 that they knew the Son of God, and knew the Trinity; and then, say
 they, why should not these good men, believing a Trinity, be saved?
 and partly they goe upon that rule, which goes through so many of
 the Fathers, *Facienti quod in se est*, That to that man who does as
 much as he can, by the light of nature, God never denies grace; and
 then, say they, why should not these men that doe so be saved? And,
 upon this ground, S. *Dionyse* the Areopagite sayes, That from the
 beginning of the world, God hath called some men of all Nations,
 and of all sorts, by the ministry of Angels, though not by the ministry
⁵⁷⁰ of the Church. To me, to whom God hath revealed his Son, in a
 Gospel, by a Church, there can be no way of salvation, but by apply-
 ing that Son of God, by that Gospel, in that Church. Nor is there any
 other foundation for any, nor other name by which any can be saved,
 but the name of Jesus. But how this foundation is presented, and
 how this name of Jesus is notified to them, amongst whom there is no

Gospel preached, no Church established, I am not curious in inquiring. I know God can be as mercifull as those tender Fathers present him to be; and I would be as charitable as they are. And therefore humbly imbracing that manifestation of his Son, which he hath af-
 580 forded me, I leave God, to his unsearchable waies of working upon others, without farther inquisition.

Neither did those tender Fathers then, (much lesse the School after) consist in carying this overflowing, and inexhaustible mercy of God, upon his Saints, after their Resurrection, in temporall abundances, nor upon the Gentiles, who had no solemne, nor cleare knowledge of Christ, (which is *Magnificare misericordiam*, to magnifie, to extend, to stretch the mercy of God) but, *Mirificant misericordiam*, (as *David* also speaks) they stretch this mercy miraculously, for, they carry this mercy even to hell it self. For, first, for the Angels
 590 that fell in heaven, from the time that they committed their first sin, to the time that they were cast down into hell, they whom we call the more subtile part of the Schoole, say, That *In illa morula*, during that space, between their falling into their sin, and their expulsion from heaven, the Angels might have repented, and been restored, for, so long, say they, those Angels were but *in statu viatorum*, in the state and condition of persons, as yet upon their way, (as all men are, as long as they are alive) and not *In termino*, in their last, and determined station. And that which is so often cited out of *Damascen*, concerning the fall of Angels, *Quod hominibus mors est, Angelis*
 600 *casus*, That as death works upon man, and concludes him, and makes him impenitible for ever, so works the fall upon the Angels, and concludes them for ever too, they interpret to have been intended by *Damascen*, not of the Angels fall in heaven, but their fall from heaven; for, till then, they were not, say they, *In termino*, in their last state, and, so, not impenitible. And those Ancients, which expound that battle in heaven, between *Michael* and the Dragon, and their severall Angels, to have been fought at that time, after their fall, and between Lucifer's rebellion, and his expulsion, (as the Ancients abound much in that sense of that place) argue rationally, That that
 610 battle, (what kinde of battle soever it were) must necessarily have spent some time. They conceive it to have been a battle of Disputation, of Argumentation, of Perswasion; and that those good Angels

*Angeli
lapsi
in Cœlis*

Psal. 138.2
Psal. 17.7

Apoc. 12.7

which are so glad of our Conversion, would have been infinitely glad to have reduced their rebellious brethren to their obedience. And, during that time, (which could not be a sudden instant) they were not *Inadeptivi gratiæ*, incapable of repentance, and of mercy. S. Cyril comes towards it, comes neare it; nay, if it be well observed, goes beyond it; Of Gods longanimity and patience toward man, (sayes he) we have in part spoken; *Quanta ille Angelis condonaverit, nescimus*; how great transgressions he hath forgiven in the Angels, we know not; only this we know, sayes he, *Solus qui peccare non possit Iesus est*, There is none impeccable, none that cannot sin, Man nor Angel, but only Christ Jesus.

Angeli lapsi in Infernum

Eph. 3.10

Collius de animabus Paganorum

L. r. c.
13. fo. 48

Nay after the expulsion of the Angels, not onely after their fall in Heaven, but their fall from Heaven, many of the Ancients seeme loath to exclude all wayes of Gods mercy, even from hell it selfe. *De statu moti, sed non irremediabiliter moti*, saies *Origen*, The Angels are fallen, are fallen even into hell, but not so irrecoverably fallen, *Vt Institutionibus bonorum Angelorum non possint restitui*, But that by the counsaile and labour of the good Angels, they may be restored againe. *Origen* is thought to be single, singular in this doctrine, but he is not. Even S. *Ambrose*, interpreting that place, That S. *Paul* saies *He was made a Minister of the Gospel, Vt innotesceret, to the intent that the wisdome of God, might by the Church, be made knowne to Powers and Principalities*, interprets it of fallen Angels; That they, the fallen Angels might receive benefit by the preaching of the Gospel in the Church. *Prudentius* saies not so, but this he does say, That upon this day, when our blessed Saviour arose from hell, *Pœnarum celebres sub Styge feriæ*, And, *Suppliciis mitibus, Nec fervent solito flumina sulphure*, Some relaxation, some ease in their torments, at some time, some very good men have imagined, even in hell. And more then that; they have not absolutely cryed downe (for, so much it deserves) that fable of *Traian*; That after that Emperour had beene some time in hell, yet, upon the prayers of Pope *Gregory*, he was removed to Heaven. Nay, more then that; (for, that was but of one man) But, an Author of our age, and much esteemed in the Roman Church, delivers as his owne opinion, (and thinks he hath the subtler part of the Schoole on his side) That that, which is so often said, (from hell there is no redemption) is only to be understood of them, whom

⁶⁵⁰ God sends to hell, as to their last place; to them, certaintely there is no redemption. But, saies he, God may send soules of the heathen, who had not the benefit of any Christian Church, and yet were good morall men, to burne out certaine errors, or ignorances, or sins in hell, and then remove them to Heaven; for, for so long time, they are but *Viatores*, they are but in their way, and not concluded.

Beloved, that we might have something in the balance to weigh downe the cruelty, and the petulancy, and the pertinacy of those men, who in these later times have so attenuated the mercy of God, as that they have almost brought it to nothing, (for there is no mercy where

⁶⁶⁰ there is no misery, and they place all mercy to have beene given at once, and that, before man was fallen into misery by sin, or before man was made) and have pronounced, that God never meant to shew mercy to all them, nor but to a very few of them, to whom he pretended to offer it, that we might have something in the balance to weigh against these unmercifull men, I have staid thus long upon these over-mercifull men, that have carried mercy upon the Saints of God, in temporall abundances after the Resurrection, and upon the Heathen who never heard Gospell preached, and upon the Angels fallen in Heaven, and upon those Angels fallen from Heaven into

⁶⁷⁰ hell, and upon the soules of men there, not onely in the ease of their torments, but in their translation from thence to Heaven. That so our later men might see, that the Ancients thought God so far from beginning at Hate, (That God should first, for his glory, hate some, and then make them that he might execute his hate upon them) as that they thought God implacable, inexorable, irreconciliable to none; therfore to these unmercifull, have we opposed these overmercifull men.

But yet, to them wee must say, *Numquid Deus indiget mendacio vestro, ut pro eo loquamini dolos?* Shall wee lye for God, or speake deceitfully for him? deceive your soules, with over-extending his

⁶⁸⁰ mercy? wee may derive mercy from hell, though wee carry not mercy to hell. *Gehenna non solum eorum, qui puniendi, causa facta, sed & eorum, qui salvandi;* Hell was not onely made for their sakes, who were to suffer in it, but for theirs, who were to be warned by it; and so there is mercy in hell. *Cooperatur regno*, saies S. *Chrysostome*, elegantly, Hell hath a co-operation with Heaven, It works upon us, in the advancement of our Salvation, as well as Heaven; *Nec sævitiae*

Job 13.7

Origen

Chrysost.

res est, sed misericordiae, Hell is not a monument of Gods cruelty, but of his mercy, *Et nisi fuisset intentata gehenna, in gehennam omnes cecidissemus*, If we were not told of hell, we should all fall into hell;

⁶⁹⁰ and so there is mercy in hell. And therefore, saies the same Father, Out of an unspeakeable wisdome, and Fatherly care, (as Fathers will speak loudest to their Children, and looke angerliest, and make the greatest rods, when they intend not the severest correction) *Christus sæpius gehennam comminatus est, quam regnum pollicitus*, Christ in his Gospell, hath oftner threatened us with hell, then promised us Heaven. We are bound to praise God, saies he, as much for driving

Adam out of Paradise, as for placing him there, *Et agere gratias tam pro gehenna, quam pro regno*, And to give him thanks, as well for hell, as for Heaven. For, whether he cauterise or foment, whether he

⁷⁰⁰ draw blood, or apply Cordials, he is the same Physitian, and seekes but one end, (our spirituall health) by his divers wayes. For us, who

Psal. 118.17

by this notification of hell, escape hell, *We shall not dye, but live*; that is, not dye so, but that we shall live againe; Therefore is death

Iohn 11.11

called a sleepe, (*Lazarus sleepeth*, saies Christ.) And *Cœmiteria* are *Dormitoria*, Churchyards are our beds. And in those beds, (and in all other beds of death) (for, the dead have their beds in the Sea too, and sleepe even in the restlesse motion thereof) the voyce of the Archangel, and the Trumpet of God shall awake them that slept in Christ before, and they and we shall be united in one body; for, as

Heb. 11.40

⁷¹⁰ our Apostle sayes here, *We shall not prevent them*, so he sayes also, *That they shall not be made perfect without us*. Though we live to see Christ, we shall not prevent them, though they have attended Christ five thousand yeares in the grave, they shall not prevent us, but united in one body, *Rapiemur*, They and we shall be caught, &c.

Rapiemur

Rapiemur, *We shall be caught up*. This is a true Rapture, in which we doe nothing our selves. Our last act towards Christ, is as our first; In the first act of our Conversion we do nothing; nothing in this last act, our Resurrection, but *Rapimur*, we are caught. In every thing, the more there is left to our selves, the worse it is done; that that God

2 Cor. 12.4

⁷²⁰ does intirely, is intirely good. S. Paul had a Rapture too; *He was caught up into Paradise; but whether in the body, or out of the body, he cannot tell*. We can tell, that this Rapture of ours, shall be in body and soule, in the whole man. Man is but a vapour; but a glorious,

and a blessed vapour, when he is attracted, and caught up by this Sun, the Son of Man, the Son of God. O what a blessed alleviation possesses that man! and to what a blessed levity, (if without levity we may so speake) to what a cheerefull lightnesse of spirit is he come, that comes newly from Confession, and with the seale of Absolution upon him! Then, when nothing troubles his conscience, then, when
⁷³⁰ he hath disburdened his soule of all that lay heavy upon it, then, when if his Confessor should unjustly reveale it to any other, yet God will never speake of it more to his conscience, not upbraid him with it, not reproach him for it, what a blessed alleviation, what a holy cheerefulness of spirit is that man come to? How much more in the endowments which we shall receive in the Rapture of this text, where we do not onely devest all sins past, (as in Confession) but all possibility of future sins; and put on, not onely incorruption, but incorruptibleness; not onely impeccancy, but impeccability. And, to be invested with this endowment, *Rapiemur, Wee shall be caught up*,
⁷⁴⁰ and *Rapiemur in Nubibus, Wee shall be caught up in the Clouds.*

We take a Star to be the thickest, and so the impurest, and ignoblest part of that sphear; and yet, by the illustration of the Sun, it becomes a glorious star. Clouds are but the beds, and wombs of distempered and malignant impressions, of vapours, and exhalations, and the furnaces of Lightnings and of Thunder; yet by the presence of Christ, and his employment, these clouds are made glorious Chariots to bring him and his Saints together. Those Vapours and *Clouds* which *David* speaks of, *S. Augustin* interprets of the Ministers of the Church; that they are those Clouds. Those Ministers may have clouds
⁷⁵⁰ in their understanding and knowledge, (some may be lesse learned then others) and clouds in their elocution and utterance, (some may have an unacceptable deliverance) and clouds in their aspect, and countenance, (some may have an unpleasing presence) and clouds in their respect and maintenance, (some may be oppressed in their fortunes) but still they are such clouds as are sent by Christ to bring thee up to him. And as the Children of Israel received direction and benefit, as well by the *Pillar of Cloud*, as by the *Pillar of Fire*, so do the Children of God in the Church, as well by Preachers of inferiour gifts, as by higher. *In Nubibus*; Christ does not come in a Chariot, and send
⁷⁶⁰ Carts for us. He comes as he went; *This same Iesus, which is taken*

In Nubibus

Psal. 135.7

Exod. 13.21

Acts 1.11

Luke 24.51

[Acts 1.9]

In aëra

Mat. 17.4

up from you into Heaven, shall so come, in like manner as ye have seene him goe into Heaven, say the Angels at his Ascension. In what manner did they see him go? He was taken up, and a Cloud received him out of their sight. So he went, so he shall returne, so we shall be taken up, In the Clouds, to mee him in the Ayre.

The Transfiguration of Christ was not acted upon so high a Scene, as this our accesse to Christ shall be. That hill was not so high, nor so neare to the Heaven of Heavens, as this region of the ayre shall be. Nor was the Transfiguration so eminent a manifestation of the

⁷⁷⁰ glory of Christ, as this his comming in the ayre to Judgement shall be. And yet *Peter* that saw but that, desired no more, but thought it happinesse enough to be there, and there to fixe their Tabernacles. But in this our meeting of Christ in the ayre, we shall see more then they saw in the Transfiguration, and yet be but in the way of seeing more, then we see in the ayre then; we shall be presently well, and yet improving. The Kings presence makes a Village the Court; but he that hath service to do at Court, would be glad to finde it in a lodgeable and convenient place. I can build a Church in my bosome; I can serve God in my heart, and never cloath my prayer in words.

⁷⁸⁰ God is often said to *heare*, and *answer* in the Scriptures, when they to whom he speaks, have said nothing. I can build a Church at my beds side; when I prostrate my selfe in humble prayer there, I do so. I can praise God cheerefully in my Chappell, cheerefully in my parish Church, as *David* saies, *In Ecclesiis*, plurally, *In the Congregations*, In every Congregation will I blesse the Lord; But yet, I finde the highest exaltations, and the noblest elevations of my devotion, when *I give thanks in the great Congregation, and praise him among much people*, for, so me thinks, I come nearer and nearer to the Communion of Saints in Heaven. Where it is therefore said that there is no

Psal. 26.12

Psal. 35.18

Apoc. 21.22

*Obviam
Domino*

⁷⁹⁰ Temple, (*I saw no Temple in Heaven*) because all Heaven is a Temple, And because the Lord God Almighty, and the Lambe, (who fill all Heaven) are, (as S. John sayes there) *the Temple thereof*.

So far towards that, as *into the Ayre*, this text carries us, *Obviam Domino, To meet the Lord*. The Lord requires no more, not so much at our hands, as he does for us. When he is come from the right hand of his Father in heaven, into the ayre to meet us, he is come farther then we are to go from the grave to meet him. But we have met the

Lord in many a lower place; in many unclean actions have we met the Lord in our owne hearts, and said to our selves, Surely the Lord
 8⁰⁰ is here, and sees us, and (with *Joseph*) *How then can I doe this great wickednesse, and sin against my God?* and yet have proceeded, gone forward in the accomplishment of that sin. But there it was *Obviam Iesu, Obviam Christo*, We met a *Iesus*, We met a *Christ*, a God of mercy, who forgave us those sins. Here in our text, it is *Obviam Domino*, We must *meet the Lord*; He invests here no other name but that; He hath laid aside his *Christ*, and his *Iesus*, names of Mercy, and Redemption, and Salvation, and comes only in the name of power, *The Lord*, The Judge of quick and dead. In which Judgement he shews no mercy; All his mercy is exercised in this life; and
 8¹⁰ he that hath not received his portion of that mercy before his death, shall never receive any. There he judges only by our workes, Whom hast thou fed, whom hast thou clothed? Then in judgement we meet the Lord, the Lord of power, and the last time that ever we shall meet a *Iesus*, a *Christ*, a God of mercy, is upon our death-bed; but there we shall meet him so, as that when we meet him in another name, *The Lord*, in the ayre, yet by the benefit of the former mercy received from *Iesus*, *We shall be with the Lord for ever.*

First *Erimus, We shall Bee*, we shall have a Beeing. There is nothing more contrary to God, and his proceedings, then annihilation, to
 8²⁰ Bee nothing, Do nothing, Think nothing. It is not so high a step, to raise the poore out of the dust, and to lift the needy from the dung-hill, and set him with Princes, To make a King of a Beggar is not so much, as to make a Worm of nothing. Whatsoever God hath made thee since, yet his greatest work upon thee, was, that he made thee; and howsoever he extend his bounty in preferring thee, yet his greatest largenesse, is, in preserving thee in thy Beeing. And therefore his own name of Majesty, is Jehovah, which denotes his Essence, his Beeing. And it is usefully moved, and safely resolved in the School, that the devill himself cannot deliberately wish himselfe nothing.

8³⁰ Suddenly a man may wish himself nothing, because that seemes to deliver him from the sense of his present misery; but deliberately he cannot; because whatsoever a man wishes, must be something better then he hath yet; and whatsoever is better, is not nothing. *Nihil contrarium Deo*, There is nothing truly contrary to God; To do nothing,

Gen. 39.9

Erimus

Psal. 113.7

August.

is contrary to his working; but contrary to his nature, contrary to his Essence there is nothing. For whatsoever is any thing, even in that Beeing, and therefore because it is, hath a conformity to God, and an affinity with God, who is Beeing, Essence it self. *In him we have our Beeing*, sayes the Apostle. But here it is more then so; not only *In illo*,
⁸⁴⁰ but *Cum illo*, not only *In him*, but *With him*, not only in his Providence, but in his Presence.

Act. 17.28

Cum illo
 Esay 29.13

Esay 46.8

Mat. 25.41

Semper

The Hypocrite hath a Beeing, and, in God, but it is not with God, *Quia cor longè, With his lips he honours God, but removes his heart far from him*. And God sends him after his heart, that he may keep him at that distance, (as S. *Gregory* reads and interprets that place of *Esay*) *Redite prævaricatores ad cor*, Return O sinners, follow your own heart, and then I am sure you and I shall never meet. Our Saviour Christ delivers this distance plainly, *Discedite à me, Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire*. Where the first part of the sentence is incomparably the heaviest, the departing worse then the fire; the intensnesse of that fire, the ayre of that brimstone, the anguish of that worm, the discord of that howling, and gnashing of teeth, is no comparable, no considerable part of the torment, in respect of the privation of the sight of God, the banishment from the presence of God, an absolute hopelesnesse, an utter impossibility of ever comming to that, which sustaines the miserable in this world, that though I see no Sun here, I shall see the Son of God there. The Hypocrite shall not do so; we shall Bee, and *Bee with him*, and *Bee with him for ever*;
⁸⁵⁰ which is the last thing that doth fall under ours, or can fall under any consideration.
⁸⁶⁰

Of S. *Hierome*, S. *Augustine* sayes, *Quæ Hieronymus nescivit, nullus hominum unquam scivit*; That that S. *Hierome* knew not, no man ever knew. And S. *Cyril*, to whom S. *Augustine* said that, said also to S. *Augustine*, in magnifying of S. *Hierome*, That when a Catholique Priest disputed with an Heretique, and cited a passage of S. *Hierome*, and the Heretique said *Hierome* lyed, instantly he was struck dumb; yet of this last and everlasting joy and glory of heaven, in the fruition of God, S. *Hierome* would adventure to say nothing, no not then, when he was devested of his mortall body, dead; for,
⁸⁷⁰ as soon as he dyed at Bethlem, he came instantly to Hippo, S. *Augustine's* Bishoprick, and though he told him, *Hieronymi anima sum*,

I am the soule of that *Hierome*, to whom thou art now writing about the joyes and glory of heaven, yet he said no more of that, but this, *Quid quæris brevi immittere vasculo totum mare?* Canst thou hope to poure the whole Sea into a thimble, or to take the whole world into thy hand? And yet, that is easier, then to comprehend the joy and the glory of heaven in this life. Nor is there any thing, that makes this more incomprehensible, then this *Semper* in our text, the Eternity thereof, That *we shall be with him for ever*. For, this Eternity, ⁸⁸⁰ this Everlastingnesse is not only incomprehensible to us in this life, but even in heaven we can never know it experimentally; and all knowledge in heaven is experimental; As all knowledge in this world is causall, (we know a thing, if we know the cause thereof) so the knowledge in heaven, is effectuall, experimental, we know it, because we have found it to be so.

The endowments of the blessed, (those which the School calls *Dotes beatorum*) are ordinarily delivered to be these three, *Visio, Dilectio, Fruition*, The sight of God, the love of God, and the fruition, the injoying, the possessing of God. Now, as no man can know what ⁸⁹⁰ it is to see God in heaven, but by an experimental and actuall seeing of him there, nor what it is to love God there, but by such an actuall and experimental love of him, nor what it is to enjoy and possesse God, but by an actuall enjoying, and an experimental possessing of him, So can no man tell what the eternity, and everlastingnesse of all these, is, till he have passed through that eternity, and that everlastingnesse; and that he can never doe; for, if it could be passed through, then it were not eternity. How barren a thing is Arithmetique? (and yet Arithmetique will tell you, how many single graines of sand, will fill this hollow Vault to the Firmament) How empty a thing is ⁹⁰⁰ Rhetorique? (and yet Rhetorique will make absent and remote things present to your understanding) How weak a thing is Poetry? (and yet Poetry is a counterfeit Creation, and makes things that are not, as though they were) How infirme, how impotent are all assistances, if they be put to expresse this Eternity? The best help that I can assigne you, is, to use well *Æternum vestrum*, your owne Eternity; as S. *Gregory* calls our whole course of this life, *Æternum nostrum*, our Eternity; *Æquum est, ut qui in æterno suo peccaverit, in æterno Dei puniatur*, sayes he; It is but justice, that he that hath sinned out his

owne Eternity, should suffer out Gods Eternity. So, if you suffer out
9¹⁰ your owne Eternity, in submitting your selves to God, in the whole
course of your life, in surrendring your will intirely to his, and glorify-
ing of him in a constant patience, under all your tribulations, *It is a*
^{2 Thess. 1.6} *righteous thing with God*, (sayes our Apostle, in his other Epistle to
these *Thessalonians*) *To recompence tribulation to them that trouble*
you, and to you that are troubled, rest with us, sayes hee there; with us,
who shall be caught up in the Clouds, to mee the Lord in the Ayre,
and so shall be with the Lord for ever. Amen.

Number 3.

*A Sermon Preached at the Spittle,
Upon Easter-Munday, 1622.*

II COR. 4.6. *FOR, GOD WHO COMMANDED
LIGHT TO SHINE OUT OF DARKNESS, HATH
SHINED IN OUR HEARTS, TO GIVE THE
LIGHT OF THE KNOWLEDGE OF THE GLORY
OF GOD, IN THE FACE OF JESUS CHRIST.*

THE FIRST Book of the Bible, begins with *the beginning*; *In principio*, says Moses, in *Genesis*; *In the beginning God created heaven and earth*: and can there be any thing *prius principio*, before the beginning? Before this *beginning*, there is. The last Book of the Bible, (in the order as they were written) the Gospel of St. John, begins with the same word too; *In principio*, says St. John; *In the beginning was the Word*: and here, *Novissimum primum*, the *last beginning* is the *first*; St. John's *beginning*, before Moses; Moses speaking but of the Creature, and St. John of the Creator; and of the
¹⁰ Creator, before he took that name, before he came to the act of Creation; as, *the Word was with God, and was God* from all Eternity. Our present Text is an Epitome of both these beginnings: of the first beginning, the Creation, when *God commanded light to shine out of darkness*; and of the other beginning, which is indeed the first, of Him, in whose face we shall have *the knowledge of the glory of God, Christ Jesus.*

[Gen. 1.1]

[Joh. 1.1]

The first Book of the Bible, is a Revelation, and so is the last, in the order as they stand, a Revelation too. To declare a production of all things out of nothing, (which is Moses his work;) that when I do

²⁰ not know, and care not whether I know or no, what so contemptible a Creature as an Ant is made of, but yet would fain know what so vast, and so considerable a thing as an Elephant is made of; I care not for a mustard seed, but I would fain know what a Cedar is made of; I can leave out the consideration of the whole Earth, but would be glad to know what the Heavens, and the glorious bodies in the Heavens, Sun, Moon and Stars are made of; I shall have but one answer from *Moses* for all, that all my Elephants, and Cedars, and the Heavens that I consider, were made of nothing; that a Cloud is as nobly born, as the Sun in the Heavens; and a begger, as nobly, as ³⁰ the King upon Earth; if we consider the great Grand-father of them all, to be nothing: to produce light of darkness thus, is a Revelation, a Manifestation of that, which, till then, was not: this *Moses* does. St. *John*'s is a Revelation too: a Manifestation of that state, which shall be, and be for ever, after all those which were produced of nothing, shall be return'd and resolv'd to nothing again; the glorious state of the everlasting *Jerusalem*, the Kingdom of Heaven. Now this Text is a Revelation of both these Revelations: the first state, that which *Moses* reveals, was too dark for man to see; for it was nothing: The other, that which St. *John* reveals, is too bright, too dazzling for man ⁴⁰ to look upon; for it is no one limited, determined Object, but all at once, glory, and the seat and fountain of all glory, the face of Christ Jesus.

The Holy Ghost hath shewed us both these, severally in *Moses*, and in St. *John*, and both together in St. *Paul*, in this Text: where, as the Sun stands in the midst of the Heavens, and shews us both the Creatures that are below it, upon Earth, and the Creatures that are above it, the Stars in Heaven; so St. *Paul*, as he is made an Apostle of the Gentiles, stands in the midst of this Text, (*God hath shin'd in our hearts:*) Ours, as we are Apostolical Ministers of the Gospel; ⁵⁰ and he shows us the greatness of God, in the Creation which was before, when *God commanded light out of darkness*; and the goodness of God which shall be hereafter, when he shall give us *the light of the knowledge of the glory of God, in the face of Christ Jesus.*

So that this Text, giving light, by which we see, light commanded by God out of darkness; and the Object which we are to see, *the knowledge of the glory of God*; and this Object being brought within

a convenient distance to be seen *in the face of Jesus Christ*; And a fit and well-disposed *Medium* being illumin'd, through which we may see it, God having shin'd in our hearts, established a Ministry of the ⁶⁰ Gospel: for that purpose, if you bring but eyes, to that which this Text brings, Light, and Object, and Distance, and Means, then, as St. *Basil* said of the Book of Psalms, upon an impossible supposition, If all the other Books of Scripture could perish, there were enough in that one, for the catechising of all that did believe, and for the convincing of all that did not: so if all the other Writings of St. *Paul* could perish, this Text were enough to carry us through the body of Divinity, from the Cradle of the world, in the Creation, when God commanded light out of darkness, to the Grave; and beyond the Grave of the world, to the last Dissolution; and beyond it, when we shall have fully, the ⁷⁰ *light of the knowledge of the glory of God, in the face of Christ Jesus.* Now, whilst I am to speak of all this, this, which is *Omne scibile*, all, and more then can fall within the comprehension of a natural man; for it is the beginning of this world, and it is the way to the next, and it is the next world it self, I comfort my self at my first setting out, with that of St. *Gregory*, *Purgatas aures, & hominum gratiam nancisci, nonne Dei donum est?* I take it for one of Gods great blessings to me, if he have given me now an Auditory, *Purgatae auris*, of such spiritual and circumcised Ears, as come not to hear that Wisdom of Words, which may make the Cross of Christ of none effect; much ⁸⁰ less such itching Ears, as come to hear popular and seditious Calumnies and Scandals, and Reproaches, cast upon the present State and Government. For, a man may make a Sermon, a Satyr; he may make a Prayer, a Libel, if upon colour of preaching, or praying, against toleration of Religion, or persecution for Religion, he would insinuate, that any such tolerations are prepared for us, or such persecutions threatned against us. But if for speaking the mysteries of your salvation, plainly, sincerely, inelegantly, inartificially; for the Gold, and not for the Fashion; for the Matter, and not for the Form, *Nanciscor populi gratiam*, my service may be acceptable to Gods ⁹⁰ people, and available to their Edification; *Nonne Dei donum*, shall not I call this a great Blessing of God? Beloved, in him, I must; I do. And therefore, because I presume I speak to such, I take it to my self, that which follows there, in the same Father, that he that speaks to

[1 Cor.
1.17]

such a people, does not his duty, if he consider not deliberately, *Quibus, Quando, Quantum loquatur*; both to whom, and at what time, and how much he is to speak. I consider the persons; and I consider that the greatest part, by much, are persons born since the Reformation of Religion, since the death of Idolatry in this Land; and therefore not naturaliz'd by Conversion, by Transplantation from another Religion to this, but born the natural children of this Church; and therefore, to such persons, I need not lay hold upon any points of controverted Doctrine. I consider also *Quando*, the time; and I consider, that it is now, in these days of *Easter*, when the greatest part of this Auditory, have, or will renew their Bands to Christ Jesus in the Sacrament of his Body, and his Blood; that they will rather loose theirs, then lack his: and therefore towards persons, who have testified that disposition in that seal, I need not depart into any vehement, or passionate Exhortations to constancy and perseverance, as though there were occasion to doubt it. And I consider lastly, *Quantum*, how much is necessary to be spoken to such a people, so disposed; and therefore, farther then the custom, and solemnity of this day, and place, lays an Obligation upon me, I will not extend my self to an unnecessary length; especially, because that which shall be said by me, and by my Brethren which come after, and were worthy to come before me, in this place, is to be said to you again, by another, who alone, takes as much pains, as all we, and all you too: Hears all, with as much patience as all you; and is to speak of all, with as much, and more labour, then all we. Much therefore for your ease, somewhat for his, a little for mine own, with such succinctness and brevity, as may consist with clearness, and perspicuity, in such manner, and method, as may best enlighten your understandings, and least encumber your memories, I shall open unto you that light, which God commanded out of darkness, and that light by which *he hath shin'd in our hearts*; and this light, by which we shall have *the knowledge of the glory of God, in the face of Christ Jesus*.

Divisio

Our parts therefore in these words, must necessarily be three; three Lights. The first, shows us our Creation; the second, our Vocation; the third, our Glorification. In the first, We, who were but, (but what?) but nothing, were made Creatures: In the second, we, who were

¹³⁰ were but Gentiles, were made Christians: In the third, we, who were

but men, shall be made saints. In the first, God took us, when there was no world: In the second, God sustains us, in an ill world: In the third, God shall crown us, in a glorious and joyful world. In the first, God made us; in the second, God mends us; in the third, God shall perfect us. First, *God commanded light out of darkness*, that man might see the Creature; then *he shin'd in our hearts*, that man might see himself; at last, he shall shine so *in the face of Christ Jesus*, that man may see God, and live; and live as long, as that God of light and life shall live himself. Every one of these Parts, will have

¹⁴⁰ divers Branches; and it is time to enter into them. In the first, the Creation, because this Text does not purposely and primarily deliver the Doctrine of the Creation, not prove it, not press it, not enforce it; but rather suppose it, and then propose it by way of Example and Comparison; (for when the Apostle says, *God, who commanded light out of darkness, hath shin'd in our hearts*, he intimates therein, these two Propositions: first, that the same God that does the one, does the other too; God perfects his works; and then this Proposition also, *As God hath done the one, he hath done the other: God himself works by Patterns, by Examples.*) These two Propositions shall therefore be our two first Branches in this first Part. First, *Idem Deus*, the same God goes through his works; and therefore let us never fear that God will be weary: and then *Sicut Deus*, as God hath done, he will do again; he works by pattern, and so must we: and then from these two, we shall descend to our third Proposition, *Quid Deus*, what God is said to have done here; and it is, that he *commanded light out of darkness*. In these three, we shall determine this first Part; and as for the Branches of the other two Parts, our Vocation, and our Glorification, it will be a less burden to your memories, to open them then, when we come to handle the Parts themselves, then

¹⁵⁰ altogether now. Now we shall proceed in the Branches of the first Part.

In this, our first Consideration is, *Idem Deus*, the same our God goes through all. Those divers Hereticks who thought there were two Gods, (for *Cerdon* thought so, and *Marcion* thought so too; the *Gnostiques* thought so, and the *Maniches* thought so too) though they differ'd in their mistakings, (for error is always manifold, and multiform) yet all their errors were upon this ground, this root,

Part 1
Memb. 1
Idem Deus

Iren.
1.28, 29

They could not comprehend that the same God should be the God of Justice, and the God of Mercy too; a God that had an earnestness ¹⁷⁰ to punish sin, and an easiness to pardon sin too. *Cerdon*, who was first, though he made two Gods, yet he used them both reasonable well; for with him, *Alter Bonus, Alter Justus*; one of his Gods is perfectly good, merciful; and the other, though he be not so very good, yet he is just. *Marcion*, who came after, says worse; because he could not discern the good purposes of God in inflicting Judgements, nor the good use which good men make of his Corrections; but thought all acts of his Justice to be calamitous and intolerable, and naturally evil: therefore with him, *Alter Bonus, Alter Malus*; he that is the merciful God, is his good God; and he that is so just, but just, is an ill ¹⁸⁰ God. Hence they came to call the God of the New Testament, a good God, because there was *Copiosa Redemptio*, plentiful Redemption in the Gospel: and the God of the Old Testament, *Malum Deum*, an ill God, because they thought all penalties of the Law, evil. They came lower; to call that God, which created the Upper Region of man, the Brain, and the Heart, (the presence and privy Chamber of Reason, and consequently of Religion too) a good God, because good things are enacted there; and that God that created the Lower Region of man, the seat and scene of Carnal Desires, and inordinate Affections, an ill God, because ill actions are perpetrated there. But *Idem Deus*, the ¹⁹⁰ same *God that commanded light out of darkness, hath shin'd in our hearts*: The God of the Law, and the God of the Gospel too; The God of the Brain, and the God of the Belly too; the God of Mercy, and the God of Justice too, is all one God.

[1 Kings
20.27-30]

In all the Scriptures, you shall scarce find such a Demonstration of Gods Indignation, such a severe Execution, as that upon the Syrians; when, after the slaughter of one hundred thousand foot in the field in one day, the walls of the City, into which they fled, fell, and slew twenty seven thousand more. The Armies of the Israelites were that day, but as *little flocks of kids*, says the Text there; and yet those few, ²⁰⁰ slew one hundred thousand. The Walls of *Aphak* promised succour; and yet they fell, and slew twenty seven thousand. Now from whence proceeded Gods vehement anger in this defeat? The Prophet tells the King the cause; *Because the Syrians have said, The Lord is God of the hills, but he is not God of the vallies*. The Israelites had beaten

them upon the Hills, and they could not attribute this to their Forces, for they were very small; they must necessarily ascribe it to their God; but they thought they might find a way to be too hard for their God: and therefore, since he was a God of the *mountains*, they would fight with him in the *vallies*. But the God of Israel is *Idem*

²¹⁰ *Deus*, one and the same God. He is *Jugatinus* and *Vallonia* both, as St. *Augustine* speaks out of the Roman Authors: he is God of the mountains, he can exalt; and he is God of the Vallies, he can throw down. Our Age hath produced such Syrians, too; Men, who, after God hath declared himself against them many ways, have yet thought they might get an advantage upon him some other way. They begun in Rebellions; animated persons of great blood, and great place, to rebel: their Rebellions God frustrated. Then they came to say, (to say in actions) Their God is a God of Rebellions, a God that resists Rebellions; but he is no God of Excommunications: then they excom-

²²⁰ municated us. But our God cast those thunder-bolts, those *Bruta fulmina*, into the Sea, no man took fire at them. Then they said, He is a God of Excommunications, he will not suffer an Excommunication stollen out in his Name, against his Children, to do any harm; but he is no God of Invasion, let's try him there: Then they procured Invasion; and there the God of Israel shew'd himself the Lord of Hosts, and scattered them there. Then they said, he is the God of Invasions, annihilates them; but he is not the God of Supplantations; surely their God will not pry into a Cellar, he will not peep into a vault; he is the God of water, but he is not the God of fire; let's try

²³⁰ him in that Element; and in that Element, they saw one another justly eviscerated, and their bowels burnt. All this they have said, so as we have heard them; for they have said it in loud Actions, and still they say something in corners, which we do not hear. Either he is not a God of Equivocations, and therefore let us be lying spirits in the mouthes of some of his Prophets, draw some men that are in great Opinion of Learning, to our side, or at least draw the people into an Opinion that we have drawn them; or else, he is not the God of jealousie and suspicion, and therefore let us supple and slumber him with security, and pretences and disguises. But he is *Idem Deus*; that

²⁴⁰ God who hath begun, and proceeded, will persevere in mercy towards us. Our God is not out of breath, because he hath blown one tempest,

and swallowed a Navy: Our God hath not burnt out his eyes, because he hath looked upon a Train of Powder: In the light of Heaven, and in the darkness of hell, he sees alike; he sees not onely all Machinations of hands, when things come to action; but all Imaginations of hearts, when they are in their first Consultations: past, and present, and future, distinguish not his *Quando*; all is one time to him: Mountains and Vallies, Sea and Land, distinguish not his *Ubi*; all is one place to him: *When I begin*, says God to *Eli*, *I will make an end*; not ²⁵⁰ onely that all Gods purposes shall have their certain end, but that even then, when he begins, he makes an end: from the very beginning, imprints an infallible assurance, that whom he loves, he loves to the end: as a Circle is printed all at once, so his beginning and ending is all one.

Make thou also the same interpretation of this *Idem Deus*, in all the Vicissitudes and Changes of this World. Hath God brought thee from an Exposititious Child laid out in the streets, of uncertain name, of unknown Parents, to become the first foundation-stone of a great family, and to enoble a posterity? Hath God brought thee from a ²⁶⁰ Carriers Pack, upon which thou camest up, to thy change of Foot-Cloathes, and Coaches? Hath God brought thee from one of these Blew-Coats, to one of those Scarlet Gowns? Attribute not this to thine own Industry, nor to thine own Frugality; (for, Industry is but Fortunes right hand, and Frugality her left;) but come to *Davids* Acclamation, *Dominus Fecit, It is the Lords doing*: That takes away the impossibility: If the Lord will do it, it may be, it must be done; but yet even that takes not away the wonder; for, as it follows there, *Dominus fecit, & est Mirabile*, though the Lord have done it, *it is wonderful in our eyes*, to see whom, and from whence, and whither, ²⁷⁰ and how God does raise, and exalt some men. And then if God be pleas'd to make thee a Roll written on both sides, a History of Adversity, as well as of Prosperity: if when he hath fill'd his Tables, with the story of *Mardoche*, a man strangely raised, he takes his Spunge, and wipes out all that, and writes down in thee, the story of *Job*, a man strangely ruin'd, all this is *Idem Deus*, still the same God, and the same purpose in that God, still to bring thee nearer to him, though by a lower way. If then thou abound, come not to say with the over-secure man, *Soul, thou hast much goods laid up, for many years, take*

Psal. 118.23

Luk. 12.19

thine ease, eat, drink and be merry: and if thou want, come not to
²⁸⁰ that impatience of that Prophet, *Satis est, Lord, this is enough, now take away my life*: Nay, though the Lord lead thee into temptation, and do not deliver thee from evil, but let thee fall into a sin, though he let thee fall so far, as to doubt of his mercy for that sin, yet *Idem Deus*, all this while, all this is the same God; and even that voice, though it have an accent of despair in it, is the voice of God; and though it be spoken in the mouth of the Devil, it is God that speaks it; for even then, when the Devil possesses man, God possesses the Devil. God can make his profit, and thine, of thy sin: he can make the horror of a sin committed, the occasion of thy repentance, and his mercy: for
²⁹⁰ *Shall there be evil in a City, and the Lord hath not done it?* God is no disposer to sin, but he is the disposer of sin: God is not Lord of sin, as Author of sin; but he is the Lord of sin, as Steward of it: and he dispenses not onely for our sins, but the sins themselves. God imprints not that obliquity, infuses not that venome that is in our sinful Actions, but God can extract good out of bad, and Cordials out of Poyson. Be not thou therefore too nimble a Sophister, nor too pressing an Advocate against thine own soul: conclude not too soon, that God hath forsaken thee, because he hath let thee fall, and let thee lie some time, in some sin: you know who did so, and yet was *a man according*
³⁰⁰ *to Gods own heart*; for God hath set his heart upon that way, to glorifie himself out of *Davids* repentance, rather then out of his innocence. In the Hills, and in the Vallies too; in spiritual, as well as in temporal prosperity and adversity too; in the Old, and in the New Testament; in the ways of mercy, and of justice too, thou maist find the same God, who is in every change *Idem Deus*; *God*, that is, the same God, *who commanded light out of darkness, hath shin'd in our hearts*: And so we have done with the first Proposition.

The next is, *Sicut Deus*; As God hath done the one, so he hath the other. God brings himself into comparison with himself: Our un-
³¹⁰ worthiness changes not his nature: His *mercy is new every morning*; and, *his mercy endureth for ever*. One generation is a precedent to another, and *God* is his own Example; whatsoever he hath done for us, he is ready to do again. When he had once written the Law in ston-tables, for the direction of his people, and that *Moses* in an over-vehement zeal and distemper, had broke those Tables, *God* turn'd

[1 Kings
19.4]

Amos 3.6

[Acts 13.22]

*Sicut
Deus*
[Lam. 3.23]
[Psa. 136]

to his precedent, remembred what he had done, and does so again; he writes that Law again in new Tables. When *God* had given us the light of the Reformation for a few years of a young King, and that after him, in the time of a pious truly, but credulous Princess, a Cloud

³²⁰ of blood over-shadowed us in a heavy persecution, yet *God* turn'd to his precedent, to the example of his former mercy, and in mercy re-established that light, which shines yet amongst us; and (if the sins of the people extinguish it not) shall shine as long as the Sun and Moon shall shine above. The Lords hand is not shortned, nor weakned in the ways of justice; and his justice hath a *Sicut*, a precedent, an Example too. There is *Sicut Kore*, if we sin as *Kore* and his Complices sinned, as *Kore* and his Complices, we shall perish. There is an *Anathema Sicut illud, Thou shalt not bring an abomination into thy house*, (not an Idolator into thy house) *lest thou be an accursed*

³³⁰ *thing, Sicut illud*, as guilty in the eye of God, as the Idolator himself.

Num. 16.40 Deut. 7.26 Psal. 83.9

There is *Sicut Midian*; God can do unto the men of these times, as he did unto the Midianites, as to *Sisera*, as to *Jabin*, which perished, and became as the Dung of the earth. He can make their Nobles *Sicut Oreb, Sicut Zeeb*, like unto *Oreb*, like unto *Zeeb*, and all their Princes *Sicut Zebah, Sicut Salmana*. There are precedents of his justice too. But yet in the greatest act of his justice that ever he did, which was the general drowning of the whole world, though that history remain as an everlasting Demonstration of his power, and of his justice, yet he would not have it remain as a precedent; but he records that, with

³⁴⁰ that protestation, *I will no more curse the earth, nor smite any more, every living thing, as I have done*: though I have show'd that I can do it, and have done it, I will do it no more. God forbears, and waves his own example in matter of justice; but God never shew'd any mercy, but he desires that that mercy may be recorded, and produc'd, and pleaded to our Conscience, to the whole Congregation, to God himself, as a leading and a binding case, as he *commanded light out of darkness, so he hath shin'd in our hearts*.

God proceeds by example, by pattern: Even in this first great act presented in our Text, in the Creation he did so. God had no external pattern in the Creation, for there was nothing extant; but God had from all Eternity an internal pattern, an *Idæa*, a pre-conception, a form in himself, according to which he produc'd every Creature. And

when God himself proceeds upon pre-conceptions, pre-meditations, shall we adventure to do, or to say any thing in his service unpre-meditately, extemporally? It is not Gods way. Now, it is a penurious thing, to have but one Candle in a room: it is too dim a light to work by, to live by, to have but Rule and Precept alone; Rule and Example together, direct us fully. Who shall be our Example? *Idæa novi hominis Christus Jesus.* If thou wilt be a new Creature, (and, *Cir-*

³⁶⁰ *cumcision is nothing, uncircumcision nothing*, but onely to be a new Creature) then Christ is thy *Idæa*, thy Pattern, thine Original: for, *Quid in eo non Novum?* what was there in him that was not new? When was there such a Conception, of the Holy Ghost? such a birth, of a Virgin? such a pregnancy to dispute so, so young, with such men? When such a death as God to die? when such a life, as a dead man to raise himself again? *Quid in eo non Novum?* To be produc'd by this *Idæa*, built up by this Model, copied by this Original, is truely, is onely to be a new Creature. But that thou mayst put thy self into the way to this, it is usefully said, *Enim vero, certum vitæ*

³⁷⁰ *genus sibi constituere;* Certainly to undertake a certain Profession, a Calling in this world, and to propose to our selves the Example of some good, and godly man in that Calling, whose steps we will walk in, and whom we will make our precedent, *Tanti Momenti esse duco*, says that Father, is a matter of so great importance, as that upon that (says he) lies the building of our whole life. That little Philosopher *Epictetus*, could give us that Rule; Whensover thou enterprisest any action, says he, consider what *Socrates*, what *Plato*, (that is, what a wise and religious man) would have done in that case, and do thou so. This way our Saviour directs us; *I have given you an example:* It

³⁸⁰ is not only *Mandatum novum*, but *exemplum Novum*, *That ye should do, even as I have done unto you.* And this is the way that the Apostle directs us to, *Brethren, be followers of me:* and because he could not be always with them, he adds, *Look on them which walk so, as you have us for an example.* Love the Legends, the Lives, the Actions, and love the sayings, the Apophthegms of good men. In all temptations like *Josephs* temptations, love *Josephs* words, *How can I do this great wickedness, and sin against God?* In all temptations like *Jobs* temptations, love the words of *Job*, *Shall we receive good at the hands of God, and shall we not receive evil?* In all temptations like to *Shadrachs* and his

Hierom
[Gal. 6.15]

Nazianz.

Joh. 13.15

Phil. 3.17

Gen. 39.9

Job 2.10

Dan. 3.17 ³⁹⁰ fellow-Confessors, love their words, *Our God is able to deliver us, and he will deliver us: but if not, we will not serve thy god, nor worship thine image.* Certainly, without the practise, it is scarce to be discern'd, what ease and what profit there is, in proposing certain and good Examples to our selves. And when you have made up your profit that way, rectified your self by that course, then, as your Sons write by Copies, and your Daughters work by Samplars, be every Father a Copy to his Son, every Mother a Samplar to her Daughter, and every house will be an University. O in how blessed a nearness to that Direction, is that Child, and that Servant, and that Parishioner, who, when ⁴⁰⁰ they shall say to Almighty God, by way of Prayer, What shall I do, to get eternal life? shall hear God answer to them by his Spirit, Do but as thou seest thy Father do, do as thou seest thy Master do, do as thou seest thy Pastor do! To become a precedent, govern thy self by precedent first; which is all the Doctrine that I intended to deduce out of this second Proposition, *Sicut Deus*, As God commanded light out of darkness, so he hath shin'd in our hearts: God did as he had done before: and so we pass from the *Idem Deus*, and the *Sicut Deus*, to the *Quid Deus*, What that is which God hath done here, *He commanded light out of darkness.*

Quid Deus ⁴¹⁰ The drowning of the first world, and the repairing that again; the burning of this world, and establishing another in heaven, do not so much strain a mans Reason, as the Creation, a Creation of all out of nothing. For, for the repairing of the world after the Flood, compared to the Creation, it was eight to nothing; eight persons to begin a world upon, then; but in the Creation, none. And for the glory which we receive in the next world, it is (in some sort) as the stamping of a print upon a Coyn; the metal is there already, a body and a soul to receive glory: but at the Creation, there was no soul to receive glory, no body to receive a soul, no stuff, no matter, to make a body of. The ⁴²⁰ less any thing is, the less we know it: how invisible, how inintelligible a thing then, is this *Nothing!* We say in the School, *Deus cognoscibilior Angelis*, We have better means to know the nature of God, then of Angels, because God hath appeared and manifested himself more in actions, then Angels have done: we know what they are, by knowing what they have done; and it is very little that is related to us what Angels have done: what then is there that can bring this Nothing to

our understanding? what hath that done? A Leviathan, a Whale, from a grain of Spawn; an Oke from a buried Akehorn, is a great; but a great world from nothing, is a strange improvement. We wonder to see a man rise from nothing to a great Estate; but that Nothing is but nothing in comparison; but absolutely nothing, meerly nothing, is more incomprehensible then any thing, then all things together. It is a state (if a man may call it a state) that the Devil himself in the midst of his torments, cannot wish. No man can, the Devil himself cannot, advisedly, deliberately, wish himself to be nothing. It is truely and safely said in the School, That whatsoever can be the subject of a wish, if I can desire it, wish it, it must necessarily be better (at least in my opinion) then that which I have; and whatsoever is better, is not nothing; without doubt it must necessarily produce more thankfulness in me, towards God, that I am a Christian; but certainly more wonder that I am a Creature: it is vehemently spoken, but yet needs no excuse, which *Justin Martyr* says, *Ne ipsi quidem Domino fidem haberem, &c.* I should scarce believe God himself, if he should tell me, that any but himself created this world of nothing; so infallible, and so inseparable a work, and so distinctive a Character is it of the Godhead, to produce any thing from nothing; and that God did when he commanded light out of darkness.

Moses stands not long upon the Creation, in the description thereof; no more will we: When there went but a word to the making it self, why should we make many words in the description thereof? We will therefore onely declare the three terms in this Proposition, and so proceed; first, *God commanded*, then he commanded *light*, and *light out of darkness*.

For the first, that which we translate here *commanded*, is in St. *Pauls* mouth, the same that is *Moses, Dixit*, and no more; God said it. But then if he said it, *Cui dixit?* to whom did he say it? *Procopius* asks the Question; and he answers himself, *Dixit Angelis*, He said it to the Angels. For *Procopius* being of that opinion, which very many were of besides himself, that God had made the Angels some time before he came to the Creation of particular Creatures, he thinks that when he came to that, he call'd the Angels, that they, by seeing of what all other Creatures were made, might know also of what stuff themselves were made, of the common and general nothing. Some

Athanasius

others had said, that God said this to the Creature it self, which was now *in fieri*, (as we say in the School) in the production, ready to be brought forth. But then, says *Athanasius*, God would have said, *Sis Lux* and not *Sit Lux*: He would have said, Be thou, O Light, or appear and come forth, O Light, and not *Let there be Light*. But what needs all this vexation in *Procopius*, or *Athanasius*? When as *Dicere*

⁴⁷⁰ *Dei est intelligere ejus practicum*: when God would produce his

Idæa, his pre-conception into action, that action, that production was his *Dixit*, his saying. It is, as we say in the School, *Actus indicativus practici intellectus*; Gods outward Declaration of an inward purpose by execution of that purpose, that [is] his *Dixit*, his saying. It is sufficiently expressed by *Rabbi Moses*, *In Creatione Dicta sunt voluntates*;

In the act of Creation, the Will of GOD, was the Word of God; his Will that it should be, was his saying, Let it be. Of which it is a convenient example which is in the Prophet *Jonah*, *The Lord spake unto the Fish, and it vomited Jonah upon the dry Land*; that is, God would

⁴⁸⁰ have the Fish to do it, and it did it. God spake then in the Creation,

but he spake *Ineffabiliter*, says St. *Augustine*, without uttering any sound. He spake, but he spake *Intemporaliter*, says that Father too, without spending any time in distinction of syllables. But yet when

he spoke, *Aliquis adfuit*, as *Athanasius* presses it; surely there was some body with him; there was, says he. Who? *Verbum ejus adfuit, & adfuit Spiritus ejus*, says he, truly, the second Person in the Trinity, his Eternal Word; and the third Person, the Holy Ghost, were both there at the Creation, and to them he spoke. For, *By the Word of the Lord were the heavens framed, and all the host of them; Spiritu oris*

Psalm. 33.6

Job 33.4 ⁴⁹⁰ *ejus*, by that Spirit that proceeded from him, says *David*. *The Spirit of God hath made me*; and, *By his Spirit he hath garnished the heavens*.

So that, in one word, thou, who wast nothing, hast employed and set on work, the heart and hand of all the three Persons, in the blessed and glorious Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, to the making of thee; and then what oughtest thou to be, and to do in retribution? and not to make thee, that which thou art now, a Christian, but even to make thee that, wherein thou wast equal to a worm, to a grain of dust. Hast thou put the whole Trinity to busie themselves upon thee? and therefore what shouldst thou be towards them? But

⁵⁰⁰ here, in this branch, we consider not so much; not his noblest Crea-

ture, Man, but his first Creature, Light: He commanded, and he commanded Light.

And of *Light*, we say no more in this place, but this; that in all the Scriptures, in which the word *Light* is very often metaphorically applyed, it is never applyed in an ill sence. Christ is called a *Lyon*; but there is an ill Lyon too, that *seeks whom he may devour*. Christ is the serpent that was exalted; but there is an ill serpent, that did devour us all at once. But Christ is the light of the world, and no ill thing is call'd light. Light was Gods signature, by which he set his hand to the
⁵¹⁰ Creation: and therefore, as Princes signe above the Letter, and not below, God made light first; in that first Creature he declared his presence, his Majesty; the more, in that he *commanded light out of darkness*.

There was *Lumen de Lumine* before; light of light, very God of very God; an eternal Son of an eternal Father, before: But light out of darkness, is Musick out of silence. It was one distinct plague of *Egypt*, darkness above; and one distinct blessing, that the children of Israel had, *light in their dwellings*. But for some spiritual Applications of light and darkness, we shall have room again; when, after we
⁵²⁰ shall have spoken of our second part, our Vocation, *as God hath shin'd in our hearts*, positively, we shall come to speak of that shining comparatively, That God hath *so shin'd in our hearts*, as he *commanded light out of darkness*. And to those two Branches of our second part, the positive and comparative Consideration of that shining, we are in order, come now. In the first part, we were made; in this second, we are mended: in the first, we were brought into this world; in this second, we are led through it: in the first, we are Creatures; in this, we are Christians. God hath shin'd in our hearts. In this part, we shall have two Branches; a positive, and a comparative con-
⁵³⁰ sideration of the words: First, the matter it self, what this shining is; and it is the conversion of Man to God, by the ministry of the Gospel; and secondly, how this manner of expressing it, answers the comparison, *As God commanded light out of darkness*, so he hath *shin'd in our hearts*. And in the first, the positive, we shall pass by these few and short steps: first, Gods action, *Illuxit*, he shines; it is evidence, Manifestation: And then, the time, when this day breaks, when this Sun rises. *Illuxit*, he hath shin'd, he hath done enough already.

[1 Pet. 5.8]

[Exod.
10.23]

Part 2
Divisio

Thirdly, the place, the sphere in which he shines, the Orb which he hath illumin'd, *in Cordibus*: if he shine, he shines in the heart. And ⁵⁴⁰ lastly, the persons, upon whom he casts his beams, *in Cordibus nostris*, in our hearts. And having past these four in the positive part, we shall descend to the comparative; as *God commanded light out of darkness*, so he hath *shin'd in our hearts*.

I

Lucet
Mar. 16.15

Colos. 1.23

[Isa. 66.1]
[Psa. 110.1]

Tertul.

First then, for Gods action, his working in the Christian Church, which is our Vocation, we can consider man to be all, to be all Creatures; according to that expression of our Saviour's, *Go, preach the Gospel to every Creature*; and agreeable to that largeness in which he receiv'd it, the Apostle delivers it, *The Gospel is preached to every Creature under heaven*: The properties, the qualities of every Creature, are in man; the Essence, the Existence of every Creature is for man; so man is every Creature. And therefore the Philosopher draws man into too narrow a table, when he says he is *Microcosmos*, an Abridgement of the world in little: *Nazianzen* gives him but his due, when he calls him *Mundum Magnum*, a world to which all the rest of the worl^ā is but subordinate: For all the world besides, is but Gods Foot-stool; Man sits down upon his right hand: and howsoever God be in all the world, yet how did God dwell in man, in the assumption of that nature? and what care did GOD take of that dwelling, that when that house was demolished, would yet dwell in the ruines ⁵⁵⁰ thereof? for the Godhead did not depart from the dead body of Christ Jesus in the Grave. And then how much more gloriously then before, did he re-edifie that house, in raising it again to Glory? Man therefore is *Cura Divini ingenii*, a creature upon whom, not onely the greatness, and the goodness, but even the study and diligence of God is employed. And being thus a greater world then the other, he must be greater in all his parts, and so in his lights; and so he is: for, instead of this light, which the world had at first, Man hath a nobler light, an immortal, a discerning soul, the light of reason. Instead of the many stars, which this world hath, man hath had the ⁵⁶⁰ light of the Law, and the succession of the Prophets: And instead of that Sun, which this world had, a Sun from God; man hath had the Son of God; God hath spoken to us by his Son; God hath shin'd upon us in his Son. The whole work of Almighty God, in the Conversion of man, is many times expressed by this act of shining; an

effectual, a powerful shining. The infusion of the Holy Ghost into the Apostles at Pentecost, was with fire: The light which shin'd upon St. *Paul*, going to *Damascus*, struck him to the ground. And in both those cases, there were tongues too. The Apostles fire, was fiery tongues, and St. *Pauls* light, was accompanied with a voice; for then

580 does God truely shine to us, when he appears to our eyes and to our ears, when by visible and audible means, by Sacraments which we see, and by the Word which we heare, he conveys himself unto us. In *Pauls* case, there were some that saw the light, but heard not the voice: God hath joyn'd them, separate them not: Upon him that will come to hear, and will not come to see; will come to the *Sermon*, but not to the *Sacrament*; or that will come to see, but will not come to hear; will keep his solemn, and festival, and Anniversary times of receiving the *Sacrament*, but never care for being instructed in the duties appertaining to that high Mystery,

590 God hath not shin'd. They are a powerful thunder, and lightning, that go together: Preaching is the thunder, that clears the air, disperses all clouds of ignorance; and then the *Sacrament* is the lightning, the glorious light, and presence of Christ Jesus himself. And in the having and loving of these, the *Word* and *Sacraments*, the outward means of salvation, ordained by God in his Church, consists this Irradiation, this Coruscation, this shining. And we have done with that.

The next is the time, *Illuxit*, he hath shin'd already; and *Illuxit Mundo*, he hath shin'd; that is, manifested himself sufficiently to the

600 whole world. *Illuxit Nobis*, he hath done it fully to this Nation; and *Illuxit Vobis*, he hath shin'd sufficiently upon every one of you. First, upon the whole world; for, though at first he shin'd onely upon the Jews, and left all the world beside in darkness, and in the shadow of death; and even to the Jews themselves, he shin'd but *as a light in a dark place*; the Temple it self was but a dark room in respect of the Christian Church; yet, as soon as Christ had establish'd that, illumin'd that, inanimated that, given it breath in his Word, the written Scriptures, and given it motion, and action in the preaching of that Word, and Administration of the *Sacraments*, when this was done,

610 immediately there was *Meridies*, a full noon; the light was at the highest, the Sun was at the Tropique, it could go no further; no

Act. 2.3

Act. 9.3

*Illuxit
Mundo*

2 Pet. 1.19

[Prov. 6.23]

fundamental thing can be added by man to this light by which the *Son of God* hath shin'd in his Church. To set up Candles to Images, is a weakness in them that do it; but to set up Candles to God, is a presumption; that God cannot or hath not shin'd out sufficiently upon his Church, in his Institutions, but that they must supply him with the traditions and additions of men. *Lex Lux*, says *David*, *The Law of God*, the Scripture, is a light, it is the light, it is all light; and therefore they who would take away this light, not suffer men to read ⁶²⁰ the Scriptures; or if they will not snuff this light, not mend the Barbarisms, the Errours, the Contradictions which are in their Translation, and let it shine according to the Original Truth, this is a shutting of their eyes against this *Illuxit*: For, God hath show'd enough, and said enough, and done enough, and suffer'd enough, for the salvation of his Church; he hath shin'd out upon all, and needs no supply of lesser lights.

Nobis

So he hath shin'd upon all; and *Illuxit Nobis*, he hath shin'd abundantly upon this Nation. He shin'd upon us betimes; this day sprung, this Sun rose in the East; in the East, Christ liv'd and ⁶³⁰ preach'd in person; but in his Beams, his Messengers, he shin'd quickly into the West too. And when he did so, he did not so shine upon the West, upon *Rome*, as that that light was cast upon us, as by reflection from a glass, from the walls of *Rome*: but we had it, as they had it, by persons ordained by God, to convey it over the world. I dispute not too earnestly, I determine not too vehemently any matter of fact in this point. I confess ingeniously, we had many Assurances from *Rome*; but truely, she hath been even with us since: and, *Computatis Computandis*, I think she may be content to give us an Acquittance. God shin'd upon this Island early; early in the ⁶⁴⁰ plantation of the Gospel, (for we had not our seed-Corn from *Rome*, howsoever we may have had some waterings from thence) and early in the Reformation of the Church: for we had not the model of any other Forreign Church for our pattern; we stript not the Church into a nakedness, nor into rags; we divested her not of her possessions, nor of her Ceremonies, but received such a Reformation at home, by their hands whom God enlightned, as left her neither in a Dropsie, nor in a Consumption; neither in a superfluous and cumbersome fatness, nor in an uncomely and faint leanness and attenuation: Early

in the Plantation, early in the Reformation, *Illuxit Nobis*, and we
 650 have light enough, without either seeing other light from *Rome*, or
 more of this light from other places. God continue to us the light of
 this Reformation, without re-admitting any old Clouds, any old
 Clouts, and we shall not need any such re-Reformation, or super-
 Reformation, as swimming Brains will needs cross the Seas for. *The
 Word of God is not above thee, says Moses, nor beyond the Sea.* We
 need not clime up seven hills, nor wash our selves seven times in a
 Lake for it: God make the practise of our lives agreeable to the
 Doctrine of our Church; and all the world shall see that we have
 light enough.

[Deut.
 30.12, 13]

660 *Illuxit Mundo, Illuxit Nobis*, and *Vobis* too; God hath also shin'd
 sufficiently upon every of you, that hear this, already: upon the
 greatest part of you in both, upon all in one of his Sacraments. God
 hath been content to talk with you in your infancy, as Parents with
 their children, before they can speak plain, in his Language of Cate-
 chisms; and since you came to better strength, in his stronger Lan-
 guage of Preaching. He hath admitted you to him in your private
 prayers, and come to you in your private readings of his Word. He
 hath opened your Ears to him, and his to hear you in the publick
 Congregation: and as he that waters his Garden, pours in water into
 670 that Vessel at one place, and pours it out again at an hundred; God,
 who as he hath wall'd this Island with a wall of water, the Sea; so
 he waters this Garden with the waters of Paradise: the Word of
 Life hath pour'd in this water, into that great, and Royal Vessel, the
 Understanding, and the love of his truth, into the large and religious
 heart of our Sovereign, and he pours it out in 100, in 1000 spouts, in
 a more plentiful preaching thereof, then ever your Fathers had it; in
 both the ways of plenty; plentiful in the frequency, plentiful in the
 learned manner of preaching. *Illuxit*, he hath shin'd upon you before
 you were born, in the Covenant, in making you the Children of the
 680 seed of *Abraham*, of Christian Parents. *Illuxit*, he hath shin'd upon
 you ever since you could hear and see, had any exercise of natural
 and supernatural faculties; and *Illuxit*, by his grace, who sends
 treasure in earthen vessels, he hath shin'd upon some of you, since
 you came hither now. Consider onely now, after all this shining, that
 a Candle is as soon blown out, at an open door, or an open widow,

Vobis

[2 Tim. 3.6]

as in the open street. If you open a door to a Supplanter, an Under-miner, a Whisperer against your Religion; if there be a broken window, a woman loaden with sin, as the Apostle speaks, and thereby dejected into an inordinate melancholy, (for such a melancholy as ⁶⁹⁰ makes Witches, makes Papists too) if she be thereby as apt to change Religions now, as Loves before, and as weary of this God, as of that man; if there be such a door, such a window, a wife, a child, a friend, a sojourner bending that way, this light that hath shin'd upon thee, may as absolutely go out, in thy house, and in thy heart, as if it were put out in the whole Kingdom. Leave the publick to him whose care the publick is; and who, no doubt, prepares a good account to him, to whom onely he is accountable. Look then to thine own heart, and thine own house; for that's thy charge. And so we have done with the action, shining, evidence; and with the time, *Illuxit*, there is ⁷⁰⁰ enough done already; and we come to the place, *in Corde*; if God shine, he shines in the heart.

In *Cordibus*
St. Ambros.

Fecit Deus Cælum & Terram, Non lego quod requieverit, says that Father; God made heaven and earth, but I do not read that he rested, when he had done that: *Fecit Solem & Lunam*, (as he pursues that Meditation;) He made the Sun and Moon, and all the host of heaven, but yet he rested not: *Fecit hominem, & Requievit*; When God had made man, then he rested: for, when God had made man, he had made his bed, the heart of man, to rest in. God asks nothing of man, but his heart; and nothing, but man, can give the heart to ⁷¹⁰ God. And therefore in that sacrifice of *Noah* after the flood, and often in the Scriptures elsewhere, sacrifice is called *Odor quietis*, God smelt a savour of rest: in that which proceeds from a religious heart, God rests himself, and is well pleased. *Loqui ad Cor Jerusalem*, to speak to the heart of *Jerusalem*, is ever the Scripture phrase, from God to man, to speak comfortably; and *loqui e Corde*, to speak from the heart, is an Emphatical phrase, from man to God too. He that speaks from his own heart, speaks to Gods heart. *Did not our hearts burn within us, while he opened the Scriptures?* say those two Disciples that went with Christ to *Emaus*. And if your hearts do not so all this ⁷²⁰ while, you hear but me; (and, alas! who, or what am I?) you hear not God. But let this light, the love of the ordinary means of your salvation, enter into your hearts, and shine there; and then, as the

Gen. 8.21

[Isa. 40.2

Vulg.]

Luc. 24.32

fire in your Chymney grows pale, and faints, and out of countenance when the Sun shines upon it; so whatsoever fires of lust, of anger, of ambition, possessed that heart before, it will yeild to this, and evaporate. But why do I speak all this to others? Is it so clear a case, that the hearts in this Text, are the hearts of others; of them that hear, and not of our selves that speak? That we are to see now; for that's the next, and last Branch in this part, who be the persons: *in*

⁷³⁰ *Cordibus nostris, in our hearts.*

Certainly this word *Nostris*, primarily, most literally, most directly, concerns us; Us, the Ministers of Gods Word and Sacraments. If we take Gods Word into our mouths, and pretend a Commission, a Calling, for the calling of others, we must be sure that God hath shin'd in our hearts. There is *vocatio intentionalis*, an intentional Calling, when Parents, in their intention and purpose, dedicate their children to this service of God, the Ministry, even in their Cradle. And this is a good and holy intention, because though it bind not in the nature of a Vow, yet it makes them all the way more careful, to give

⁷⁴⁰ them such an Education, as may fit them for that profession. And then there is *Vocatio Virtualis*, when having assented to that purpose of my Parents, I receive that publick Seal, the Imposition of hands, in the Church of God: but it is *Vocatio radicalis*, the calling that is the root and foundation of all, that we have this light shining in our hearts, the testimony of Gods Spirit to our spirit, that we have this calling from above. First then, it must be a light; not a calling taken out of the darkness of melancholy, or darkness of discontent, or darkness of want and poverty, or darkness of a retir'd life, to avoid the mutual duties and offices of society: it must be a light, and a light

⁷⁵⁰ that shines; it is not enough to have knowledge and learning; it must shine out, and appear in preaching; and it must shine in our hearts, in the private testimony of the Spirit there: but when it hath so shin'd there, it must not go out there, but shine still as a Candle in a Candlestick, or the Sun in his sphere; shine so, as it give light to others: so that this light doth not shine in our hearts, except it appear in the tongue, and in the hand too: First, in the tongue, to preach *opportune, & importune; in season and out of season*; that is, *opportune Volentibus, importune Nolentibus*: preaching is in season to them who are willing to hear; but though they be not, though they

Nostris

2 Tim. 4.2
August.

⁷⁶⁰ had rather the Laws would permit them to be absent, or that preaching were given over; yet I must preach. And in that sense, I may use the words of the Apostle, *As much as in me is, I am ready to preach the Gospel to them also that are at Rome: at Rome in their hearts; at Rome, that is, of Rome, reconciled to Rome.* I would preach to them, if they would have me, if they would hear me; and that were *opportunè, in season.* But though we preach *importunè, out of season* to their ends, and their purposes, yet we must preach, though they would not have it done: for we are debtors to all, because all are our Neighbours. *Proximus tuus est antequam Christianus est:* A man is

⁷⁷⁰ thy Neighbor, by his Humanity, not by his Divinity; by his Nature, not by his Religion: a Virginian is thy Neighbor, as well as a Londoner; and all men are in every good mans Diocess, and Parish.

^{August.} *Irrides adorantem lapides*, says that Father; Thou seest a man worship an Image, and thou laughest him to scorn; assist him, direct him if thou canst, but scorn him not: *Ignoras quomodo illum præsriverit Deus;* thou knowest not Gods purpose, nor the way of Gods purpose upon that man; his way may be to convert that man by thee, and to bring that man to serve him? *Religiosius fortasse, quam tu qui irridebas;* perchance more sincerely then thou; not onely when thou

^{60.17} ⁷⁸⁰ didst laugh at him, but even when thou didst preach to him. *For brass, I will bring gold,* says God in *Esay;* and for iron, silver. God can work in all metals, and transmute all metals: he can make a Moral Man, a Christian; and a Superstitious Christian, a sincere Christian; a Papist, a Protestant; and a dissolute Protestant, a holy man, by thy preaching. And therefore let this light shine in our hearts, in the testimony of a good Conscience, in having accepted this Calling, but also shine in our tongues, preach. Though the Disease

^{Nicepho.} of St. *Chrysostomes* times, should overtake ours, *Qui quantum placuit tantum principibus displicuit;* The more good he did by preaching,

⁷⁹⁰ the more some great persons were displeased with him; yet all this were but St. *Paul's importunè,* a little out of season: but out of season we must preach. How much more now, now, when, as the Apostle says of God, we may say of Gods Lieutenant, *In whom there is no change, nor shadow of change,* no approach towards a change, no occasion of jealousie of it? How much were we inexcuseable, if either out of fullness of fortunes, or emptiness of learning; if either out of

state, or business, or laziness, or pretence of fear, where no fear is, we should smother this light, which if it have truly shin'd in our hearts, will shine in our tongues too?

800 It must shine there, and it must shine in our hands also, in our actions, in the example of our life. Christ says to his Apostles, *Vos estis Lux, You are light*: there they were illumin'd: but to what use? It follows, *That men may see your good works*: For, as St. Ambrose says of the Creation, *Frustra fecisset Lucem*, God had made light to no purpose, if he had not made Creatures to show by that light: so we have the light of Learning, and the light of other abilities to no purpose, if we have no good works to show, when we have drawn mens eyes upon us. Upon those words of Solomons, *Tempus tacendi, tempus loquendi*, St. Gregory makes this note, That Solomon does

Mat. 5.14, 16

Ambro.

Gregor.

810 not say first, *There is a time of speaking, and a time of silence*, that when a man hath taken that calling, that binds him to speak, then he might prevaricate in a treacherous silence: but first there is a time of silence, of study, of preparation, how to speak, and then speak on in Gods Name. But howsoever there may be *tempus tacendi*, some time wherein we may be silent; yet there is not *tempus peccandi*; no circumstance of time, no circumstance at all can excuse an ill life in an ill man, less in a leading and exemplar man, least of all in a Church-man. To that which is vulgarly said, *Loquere ut te videam*; speak that I may see thee; I do not see thee, not see what is in thee,

820 except I hear thee preach: Let me add more, *Age ut te audiam*, do something that I may hear thee: I do not hear thee, not hear thee to believe thee, except I hear of thee in a good testimony of thy conversation. I hope our times, and our callings are far enough from that suspicion of St. Ambrose, *Ne sit nomen inane, crimen immane in Sacerdotibus*: God forbid the name of Priest should privilege any man otherwise obnoxious from just censure. He were a strange Master of faculties to himself, that would give himself a Dispensation so; this were truly to incur a Premunire in the highest Kingdom, to forfeit all everlasting; to appeal from our conversation, to our

830 profession; to make a holy profession the Cloak, nay, the reason of unholy actions. But I speak not now of enormous ill, but of omissions of good, and of too easie venturing upon things, in their own nature indifferent: For, as for our words, St. Bernard says well, *Nugæ in*

ore laici sunt Nugæ, in ore Sacerdotis blasphemie; Idle words, are but idle words in a secular mans mouth; but in a Churchmans mouth, they are blasphemies. So for our actions; it may become us, it may concern us to abstain from some indifferent things, which other men without any scandal may do.

Hierom

Vehementer destruit Ecclesiam Dei, laicos esse meliores Clericis:

⁸⁴⁰ Nothing shakes the Church more, then when Church-men are no

4.10

better then other men are. Where we read in *Genesis, Vox sanguinis, The voice of Abel's blood calls;* it is in the Original, *Vox sanguinum,* of bloods, in the plural; many bloods, much blood: the blood of a whole Parish, of a whole Province, cries out against the life of such a man: for his Sermons are but his Texts; his life is his Sermon that preaches; *Aaron and Moses* were joyned in Commission; *Aaron* had the tongue, the power of speaking; *Moses* had the Rod, the power of doing great works. When the *Lystrians* call'd *Paul, Mercury,* for his Eloquence, they call'd his Companion *Barnabas, Jupiter;* their eye

Act. 14.12

⁸⁵⁰ was upon their great work, as well as their sweet words. Clearly and ingenuously, we, we the Ministers of the Gospel, acknowledge our selves to be principally intended by the Apostle in this Text; this light, that is the knowledge, and the love of Gods truth, must shine in our hearts, sincerely there; and in our tongues, assiduously there; and in our hands, evidently there; and so we are the persons; but yet not we alone, though the Apostle express it in that phrase, *in Cordibus nostris.*

When this Apostle speaks of *Hereditas nostra,* our inheritance; and *Pax nostra,* our peace; and *Spes nostra,* our hope, as he does to the

⁸⁶⁰ *Ephesians,* and often elsewhere, he does not so appropriate Christ, of whom he says all that, to himself, as that they to whom he writes, should not have an inheritance, and a peace, and a hope in Christ, as well as he, or any Apostle. So when he says here *in Cordibus nostris, in our hearts,* he intends that the *Colossians,* that people to whom he writes, (and he writes to all) should have that light in their hearts, and consequently in their tongues and hands too; in words and actions, as well as men of the Church. It is not onely to

1 Pet. 2.9

Priests that St. Peter said, *God had made them a Royal Priesthood;* not onely of Priests that St. John said, *God hath made us Kings and*

Ap. 5.10

⁸⁷⁰ *Priests.* There is not so Regal, so Sovereign, so Monarchical a Pre-

Leo

Idem

Chrysost.

rogative, as to have *Animum Deo subditum, Corporis sui Rectorem*; That man who hath a soul in subjection to God, and in dominion over his own body, that man is a King. And then there is not so holy, so Priestly an Office, as *Pietatis hostias de altari Cordis offerre*. That man who from the Altar of a pure heart, offers sacrifices of prayer and praise to God, that man is a Priest: so all you are or may be Kings; and all Priests. Nay, St. *Chrysostome* appropriates this rather to you, then to us; not to us at all; for he read this very Text, *in Cordibus vestris, in your hearts*. Since then to this intendment you are

⁸⁸⁰ Priests, as we are; since altogether make up *Clerum Domini*, the Lords Clergy, and his portion, do not you make us to be all of the inferiour Ministry, and all your selves to be Bishops over us, to visit us, judge us, syndicate us, and leave out your selves: *Plus Sacerdotum vitam quam suum discutientes*, as St. *Gregory* complains; that bestow more time in examining the lives of their Pastors, then their own. *Quid tibi Malus Minister, ubi bonus Dominus*, says *Aquinas* upon this: As long as thou art sure, that the Master of the house will receive thee kindly, what carest thou though a surly Fellow let thee in at the door? *Sacmenta absunt indigne tractantibus*, says that Father: An

⁸⁹⁰ hypocritical preaching of the Word, an unclean Administration of the Sacraments, shall aggravate the condemnation of that unclean Hypocrite; but yet *Prosunt digne sumentibus*; a worthy Receiver, receives the vertue and benefit of the Word and Sacraments, though from an unworthy Giver.

I may be bold to say, that this City hath the ablest preaching Clergy of any City in Christendom; must I be fain to say, that the Clergy of this City hath the poorest intertainment of any City that can come into comparison with it? it is so. And that to which they have pretences and claims to be farther due to them, is detained, not because ⁹⁰⁰ that which they have is enough, but because that which they claim is too much: The circumstance of the quantity and proportion, keeps off the consideration of the very right: So that this Clergy is therefore poor, because they should be rich; therefore kept without any part, because so great a part seems to belong unto them. Grieve not the Spirit of God; grieve not the spiritual man, the man of God neither: *Ex tristitia sermo procedens, minus gratus est*. He that preaches from a sad heart, under the sence of a great charge, and small means, cannot

Aquin.

August.

Aug.

Heb. 13.17

preach cheerfully to you. *Provide*, says the Apostle, *that they who watch over your souls, may doe it with joy, and not with grief: for* ⁹¹⁰ says he, *that's unprofitable for you*. You receive not so much profit by them, as you might doe, if they might attend your service intirely; when they are distracted with chargeable suites abroad, or macerated with penurious fortunes at home. Consider how much other Professions, of Arms, of Merchandise, of Agriculture, of Law it self, are decay'd of late: and thence, (though not only thence) it is, that so many more in our times, then ever before, of Honorable and Worshipful Families, apply themselves to our Profession, to the Ministry. Let therefore *this light shine in your hearts*, bless God for this blessed increase, and shine in your tongues; glorifie God in a good interpretation of the actions of his Ministers, and shine in your hands; cherish and comfort them so, that they be not put to bread and water, that give you bread and wine; nor mourn in smoaky corners, who bring you the Sun-shine of the glorious Gospel, the Gospel of consolation, into the congregation. And so we have done with all the four considerations, which made up this first branch, our Vocation by *this Light*, consider'd positively, The Thing, the Time, the Place, and the Persons. A little remains by debt of promise, to be said of this Comparatively, *As God commanded light, so he hath shin'd in our hearts*. A little before the Text, the act of the Devil is to induce darkness; but God illumins. *Deus hujus sæculi*, says the Apostle, *the God of this world*, that is, the Devil, blinds the eyes of men. Which words by the way give just occasion of making this short note, that many times by altercation and vehemence of Disputation, the truth of the literal sense is indangered: and therefore we should rather content our selves with positive and necessary Divinity, then entangle our selves with impertinent controversies. The *Manichees*, and those other Hereticks, who constituted *Duo Principia*, and consequently two Gods, one good, and one bad, made use of this Text for that opinion; That if the Devil were God of this world, and if any God did blinde ⁹³⁰ the eyes of man, there was an ill *God*. And to elevate and take away that Argument of those Hereticks, very many of the ancient Fathers, *Irenæus*, litterally and expresly, and expresly and literally *S. Chrysostome* too, and *S. Augustine* says, most of the Orthodox Fathers would needs read that place with another distinction another interpunction

Comparatio

2 Cor. 4.4

then indeed belongs to it, not *Deus hujus saeculi, The God of this world hath blinded man*; but *Deus, hujus saeculi mentes*, God, that is, the true God, hath blinded the eyes of the men of this world. And so, for fear of giving the name of God to the Devil, they attribute the action of the Devil to God. I doe not mean that the Fathers doe it, they
 950 were far from it; but this shift, and this inconvenient manner of expressing themselves, hath made some later men who think so, think, that the Fathers thought God to be really, positively, primarily, the author of the excæcation of the Reprobates. In what sense that may be said, how, and how far God concurs to this excæcation, we dispute not now. We rest in that of *St. Augustine, Aliud venit de astutia suadentis, aliud de nequitia nolentis, aliud de justitia punientis*. God hath a part, a great part, in this; but not the first. First, says *St. Augustine*, Satan suggests, then man consents; then enters God, by way of punishment, of Justice. And how far doth he punish?
 960 *Deserendo*, he forsakes that sinner, he withdraws his Grace: and then, as upon the departing of the Sun, darkness follows, but the Sun is not the cause of darkness; so upon departing of Grace, follows excæcation. God, our God, is the God of light, and *lightneth every man that cometh into the world*. So he begun in the Creation, so he proceeds in our Vocation, *As he commanded light out of darkness, so he hath shin'd in our hearts.*

First, *He made light*: There was none before; so first, *He shines in our hearts*, by his preventing Grace; there was no light before; not of Nature, by which any man could see any means of salvation; not of
 970 foreseen Merits, that God should light his light at our Candle, give us Grace therefore, because he saw that we would use that Grace well. He made light, he infus'd Grace.

And then, *He made light first of all Creatures: Ut innotescerent*, says *St. Ambrose*, that by that light all his other Creatures might be seen: which is also the use of this other light, that *shines in our hearts*, that by that light, the love of the Truth, and the glory of Christ Jesus, all our actions may be manifested to the world, and abide that tryal; that we look for no other approbation of them, then as they are justifiable by that light, as they conduce to the maintenance of his
 980 Religion, and the advancement of his glory: not to consider actions as they are wisely done, valiantly done, learnedly done, but onely as

August.

they are religiously done: and *ut abdicemus occulta dedecoris*, as the v. 2 Apostle speaks; *That we may renounce the hidden things of dishonesty, and not walk in craftiness*: that is, not sin therefore, because we see our sins may be hid from the world: For, says St. Ambrose, speaking of *Gyges* Ring, a Ring by which he that wore it, became invisible; *Da sapienti*, says that Father, Give a wise man, (a man religiously wise) that Ring, and though he might sin invisibly before men, he would not, because God sees. Nay, even the moral man goes Seneca
 990 further then that, in that point; Though I knew, says he, *hominem ignoraturum, & Deum ignosciturum*, that man should never know it, and that God would forgive it, I would not sin, for the very foulness that is naturally in sin. As God commanded light for the Manifestation of his creatures, so he hath shin'd in our hearts, that our actions might appear by that light.

How then made he that light? *Dixit*, he said it, by his Word. In which we note, first, the means: *Verbo*; he did it by his Word; and by his Word, the preaching of his Word, doth he shine in our hearts.

And we consider also the dispatch, how soon he made light, with a

1000 word. *Dixit, id est, summa cum celeritate fecit*, his work cost him but a word; and then *Cogitasse jussisse est*, his word cost him but a thought. So if we consider the dispatch of Christ Jesus in all his Miracles, there went but a *Tolle, Take up thy bed and walk*, to the lame man; but an *Ephphatha, Be opened*, to the deaf man; but a *Quid vides, What seest thou?* to the blind man. If we consider his dispatch upon the thief on the cross, how soon he brought him from reviling, to glorifying; and if any in this Auditory feel that dispatch of the Holy Ghost, in his heart; that whereas he came hither but to see, he hath heard; or if he came to hear the man, he hath heard God 1010 in the man, and is better at this Glass, then he was at the first; better now, then when he came, and will go away better then he is yet, he that feels this, must confess, that as *God commanded light out of darkness, so he hath shin'd in his heart*: So, that is, by the same means, by his Word; and so, that is, with the same speed and dispatch.

Again, *Deus vidit lucem*, God saw the light; he looked upon it; he considered it: This second light, even Religion it self, must be looked upon, considered; not taken implicitly, nor occasionally, not advantageously, but seriously and deliberately, and then assuredly, and constantly.

Chrysost.
Tertul.

[Mark 2.9]
[Mar. 7.34]

¹⁰²⁰ And then *vidit quod bona*, God saw that this light was good; God did not see, nor say that darkness was good; that ignorance, how near of kin soever they make it to Devotion, was good; nor that the waters were good; that a fluid, a moving, a variable, an uncertain irresolution in matter of Religion, is good; nor that that *Abyssus*, that depth which was before light, was good; that it is good to surround and enwrap our selves in deep and perplexing School-points, but he saw that light, evident and fundamental Articles of Religion, were good, good to clear thee in all scruples, good to sustain thee in all temptations. God knew that this light would be good, before he made ¹⁰³⁰ it; but he did not say so, till he saw it. God knew every good work that thou shouldest doe, every good thought that thou shouldest think to thy end, before thy beginning, for he of his own goodness, imprinted this degree of goodness in thee; but yet assure thy self, that he loves thee in another manner, and another measure, then, when thou comest really to doe those good works, then before, or when thou didst only conceive a purpose of doing them: he calls them good when he sees them.

And when *he saw this light*, this good light, *he separated all darkness from it*. When thou has found this light to have shin'd in thy ¹⁰⁴⁰ heart, God manifested in his way, his true Religion, separate all darkness, the dark inventions and traditions of men, and the works of darkness, sin; and since thou hast light, benight not thy self again, with relapsing to either.

The comparison of these two lights, created and infus'd light, would run *in infinitum*; I shut it up with this, that as at the first production of light, till light was made, there was a general, an universal darkness, darkness over all, but after light was once made, there was never any universal darkness, because there is no body bigg enough to shadow the whole Sun from the Earth; so till ¹⁰⁵⁰ *this light shine in our hearts*, we are wholly darkness; but when it hath truly and effectually shin'd in us, and manifested to us the evidence of our Election in Gods eternal Decree, howsoever there may be some Clouds, some Eclipses, yet there is no total darkness, no total, no final falling away of Gods Saints. And in all these respects, the comparison holds. *As God commanded light out of darkness, so he hath shin'd in our hearts*; and so we have done with all the branches of our second

part, which implies our Vocation here, and we pass to the last, Our Glorification hereafter.

Part 3

As in our first part we consider'd by occasion of the first Creature, ¹⁰⁶⁰ light, the whole Creation, and so the Creation of man; and in our second part, by occasion of this *shining in our hearts*, the whole work of our Vocation and proceeding in this world: so in this third part, by occasion of this *glorious manifestation of God, in the face of Christ Jesus*, which is intended principally, by this Apostle, of the *manifestation of God in the Christian Church*; we shall also, as far, as that dazzling glory will give us leave, consider the perfect state of glory in the Kingdom of Heaven: So that first, our branches in this third part, will be three, these three terms, 1 *Knowledge*, 2 *Glory*, and then, *the face of Jesus Christ*. And then we must look upon all these three ¹⁰⁷⁰ terms two ways, first, *Inchoative*, how we have an inchoation of *this knowledge*, of *this glory*, in *this face of Christ Jesus* here in the Church; and then *Consummative*, how we shall have a consummation of all this hereafter.

Divisio

Scientia

To us then, who were created of nothing, in the first part, and called from the Gentiles in the second, in this third part, our preparation to glory, is knowledge. The Persons in this part of the Text, are, as in the former; *Not only we*, we the Ministers of Gods Word, but you also the hearers thereof: for there is a knowledge, an art of hearing, as well as of speaking. Students make up the University, as well ¹⁰⁸⁰ as Doctors: and Hearers make up the Congregation, as well as Preachers. A good hearer is as much a Doctor, as a Preacher: A Doctor to him that sits by him, in example, whilst he is here: a Doctor to all his Family, in his repetition, when he comes home: a Doctor, to that which is more then the whole world, to him, his own soul, all his life.

Act. 26.16

Christ appear'd to this Apostle, and said, *I have appeared unto thee, for this purpose, to make thee a Minister and a witness, to open the Gentiles eyes, and to turn them from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God*. There he received his Degree, his learning, and the use of it; but when *St. Paul* came abroad into the world, when ¹⁰⁹⁰ he comes to preach, and to write, he says to the *Colossians*, *The Father hath made us meet to be partakers of the inheritance of the Saints in his light*. Us, says *St. Chrysostom*, and so says *Theophylact* too, and many more then they two; Us, that is, all Us, Us that preach,

1.12

you that hear; you are bound to study this knowledge, as well as we. And truly, a Hearer hath in some respects advantage of the Preacher: for, a Preacher, though in some measure, well dispos'd, can hardly *exuere hominem*, put off the affections of man, by being a Preacher; they stick closer to him then his Hood and habit, even in the Pulpit. Some little Clouds, if not of ostentation, and vain glory, yet of ¹¹⁰⁰com-
placencie and self-pleasing, will affect him; the hearer hath not that temptation, but hath herein a more perfect exercise of the most Christian vertue, *Humility*, then the preacher hath. Though therefore, when you cast your eye upon this part of this Text, you see in your Book, a difference of Character, in this word, *To give, to give light, &c.* which seems to fix all upon the person of the Apostle, and consequently of the Minister; yet that word is not in the Text, but the Text is only, *for the inlightning; God hath shin'd, for the inlightning, &c.* which is alike upon all; *and therefore let us, all us, cast off the works of darkness, and put on the armor of light:* light it self is faith; ¹¹¹⁰but, the armor of light is knowledge; an ignorant man is a disarm'd man, a naked man.

Ignorance then is not our Usher into this presence, *to shew us the face of Christ Jesus*: almost in every one of the ancient Fathers, you shall find some passages, wherein they discover an inclination to that opinion, that before Christ came in the manifestation of his Gospel (for, since that coming, every man is bound to see him there) many Philosophers, men of knowledge, and learning, were sav'd without the knowledge of Christ. *Christus Ratio*, says one of them, well, (for *Logos*, is *Ratio*, and not only *Verbum*, as it is ordinarily translated) ¹¹²⁰Christ is Reason, rectified Reason; and *secundum Rationem vixerunt, Christiani semper*, says he, Whosoever lives according to rectified Reason, which is the Law of nature, he is a Christian; and therefore, when that Father, *Justin Martyr*, who had been before a Philosopher amongst the Gentiles, came to be a Preacher amongst the Christians, he never left off his Philosophers habit, because that gave an impression of his learning, and an estimation by it. That knowledge was a help to salvation, the Ancients thought: but that is a new Doctrine, that men should make a title to God, by being ignorant: that whereas all the life of man, is either an active life, or a contemplative, they ¹¹³⁰should in the *Romane* Church make one Order, and call them

Justin
Martyr

August.

[Luke
13.27]

Psal. 18.26

Nullanos, men that did nothing, in contempt of the active life; and in contempt of the contemplative life, another Order, whom they call *Ignorantes*, men that know nothing. There is an annihilation in sin; *Homines cum peccant, nihil sunt*: Then when by sin, I depart from the Lord my God, *in whom only I live, and move, and have my being*, I am nothing: and truly, in this sinful profession of thine, of doing nothing, of knowing nothing, thou comest too neer being nothing. What other answer can this knowing nothing, here, produce at the last day, from Christ Jesus, but his *Nescio vos*, I know not you?

¹¹⁴⁰ As *David* says of God, *Cum perverso perverteris*, With the froward God will be froward; so, *Ignorantes ignorabit*, of the ignorant, God will be ignorant; not know them, that study not knowledge. The miracle that Christ wrought in the conversion of the World, was not, that he wrought upon men by Apostles, that were unlearned; for the Apostles were not so; they were never unprovided to give a pertinent and satisfactory answer to the learnedest of the Philosophers amongst the Gentiles, to any of the *Gamaliels* and *Nicodemusses*, who were true understanders of the Law amongst the Jews; to any of their Scribes, the perverters of the Law; to any of the Pharisees, their ¹¹⁵⁰ Separatists, and Schismatics; to any of the Sadduces, their formal Hereticks; nor to any of their *Herodians*, their State-Divines, who made Divinity serve present turns, and occasions. The Apostles were no ignorant men, then, when they were employed: but in this consisted the Miracle, that in an instant Christ by his Spirit, infus'd all knowledge, necessary for that great function, into them. If they had not had it, they could not have done his work. All must have it; *Intelligite Reges*, says *David*; for all their business, Kings must study for it: *Erudimini Judices*; with their other learning, Judges must have this. The Prophet denounces it for a heavy curse, *The Prophet*

Psal. 2.10

Ose. 9.7

¹¹⁶⁰ *shall be a fool*; he that should teach, shall not be able to do it: and, as it follows, *The spiritual man shall be mad*; if he have knowledge, he shall not know how to use it. St. *Hierome* translates that word, *Arreptitius*, he shall be possessed; possess'd with the spirit of fear, or of flattery; others shall speak in him, and he become the instrument of men, and not of God. It was the Devils first advantage, knowledge, *The Serpent was wiser then any beast*: It is so still; Satan is wiser then any man in natural, and in Civil knowledge. 'Tis true, he is a Lyon

too; but he was a Serpent first; and did us more harm as a Serpent, then as a Lyon. But now, as Christ Jesus hath nail'd his hand-writing,
¹¹⁷⁰ which he had against us, to the Cross, and thereby cancelled his evidence; so in his descent to hell, and subsequent acts of his glorification, he hath burnt his Library, annihilated his wisdom, in giving us a wisdome above his craft; he hath shin'd in our hearts by the knowledge of his Gospel.

[Col. 2.14]

Measure not thou therefore the growth and forwardness of thy Child, by how soon he could speak, or go; how soon he could contract with a man, or discourse with a woman: but how soon he became sensible of that great contract which he had made with Almighty God, in his Baptism: how soon he was able to discharge those
¹¹⁸⁰ sureties, which undertook for him, then, by receiving his confirmation, in the Church: how soon he became to discern the Lords Spirit, in the preaching of his Word, and to discern the Lords body, in the Administration of the Sacrament. A Christian Child must grow, as Christ when he was a Child, *in wisdom and in stature*: first, *in wisdom*, then *in stature*. Many have been taller at sixteen, then ever Christ was; but not any so learned at sixty, as he when he disputed at twelve. *He grew in favour*, says that Text, *with God and Man*; first, with God, then with man. Bring up your children in the knowledge and love of God; and good, and great men, will know, and love
¹¹⁹⁰ them too.

Luc. 2.52

It is a good definition of ill love, that St. *Chrysostom* gives, that it is *Animæ vacantis passio*, a passion of an empty soul, of an idle mind. For fill a man with business, and he hath no room for such love. It will fit the love of God too, so far, as that that love must be *in anima vacante*: at first, when the soul is empty, disengaged from other studies, disengaged in other affections, then to take in the knowledge, and the love of God; for, *Amari nisi nota non possunt*, says St. *Augustine* truly; however we may slumber our selves with an opinion of loving God, certainly we do not, we cannot love him, till we know
¹²⁰⁰ him; and therefore hear, and read, and meditate, and confer, and use all means whereby thou mayst increase in knowledge. *If ye know these things, happy are ye if ye do them*, says Christ; you are not happy till you do them; that's true: but ye can never do them, till ye know them. Zeal furthers our salvation; but it must be *Secundum*

[Rom. 10.2]

scientiam, Zeal according to knowledge. Works further our salvation; but not works done in our sleep, stupidly, casually, nor erroneously, but upon such grounds as fall within our knowledge to be good. Faith most of all furthers and advances our salvation; but a man cannot believe that which he does not know. Conscience includes

¹²¹⁰ science; it is knowledge, and more; but it is that first. It is, as we express it in the School, *Syllogismus practicus*. I have a good Conscience in having done well; but I did that upon a former knowledge, that that ought to be done. God hath shined in our hearts, to give us the light of knowledge, that was the first; and then, *of the knowledge of the glory of God*, that is our second term, in this first acceptation of the Word. The light of the knowledge of the glory of this world, is a good, and a great piece of learning. To know, that all the

Gloria Dei

1 Pet. 1.24

glory of man, is as the flower of grass: that even the glory, and all the glory, of man, of all mankind, is but a flower, and but as a flower,

¹²²⁰ somewhat less then the Proto-type, then the Original, then the flower it self; and all this but as the flower of grass neither, no very beautiful flower to the eye, no very fragrant flower to the smell: To know, that for the glory of *Moab*, *Auferetur*, it shall be contemned, consumed; and for the glory of *Jacob* it self, *Attenuabitur*, It shall be extenuated, that the glory of Gods enemies shall be brought to nothing, and the glory of his servants shall be brought low in this word: To know how near nothing, how meer nothing, all the glory of this world is, is a good, a great degree of learning.

It is a Book of an old Edition, to put you upon the consideration ¹²³⁰ what great and glorious men have lost their glory in this world: Give

me leave to present to you a new Book, a new consideration; not how others have lost, but consider onely how you have got that glory which you have in this world: consider advisedly, and confess ingeniously, whether you have not known many men, more industrious then ever you were, and yet never attained to the glory of your Wealth? Many wiser then ever you were, and yet never attained to your place in the Government of State; and valianter then ever you were, that never came to have your command in the Wars. Consider then how poor a thing the glory of this world is, not onely as it may

¹²⁴⁰ be so lost, as many have lost it, but as it may be so got, as you have got it. *Nullum indifferens gloriosum*, says that Moral man; In that

Seneca

which is so obvious, as that any man may compass it, truly this can be no glory.

But this is not fully the knowledge of the glory of this Text: though this Moral knowledge of the glory of this world, conduce to the knowledge of this place, which is the glory of God; yet not of the Majestical, and inaccessible glory of the Essence, or Attributes of God, or inscrutable points of Divinity: for *scrutator Majestatis opprimitur a gloria*, as St. *Hierome* and all those three Rabbins, whose

Prov. 25.27

¹²⁵⁰ Commentaries we have upon that Book, read that place: He that searches too far into the secrets of God, shall be dazled, confounded by that glory. But here, *Gloria Dei*, is indeed *Gloria Deo*; the glory of God, is the glorifying of God: it is as St. *Ambrose* expresses it, *Notitia cum laude*; the glory of God, is the taking knowledge, that all that comes, comes from God, and then the glorifying of God for whatsoever comes. And this is a heavenly art, a divine knowledge; that if God send a pestilence amongst us, we come not to say, it was a great fruit year, and therefore there must follow a plague in reason: That if God swallow up an invincible Navy, we come to say, There

¹²⁶⁰ was a storm, and there must follow a scattering in reason: That if God discover a Mine, we come not to say, there was a false Brother that writ a Letter, and there must follow a discovery in reason; but remember still, that though in *Davids Psalms*, there be Psalms of Prayer, and Psalms of Praise; Psalms of Deprecation, and of Imprecation too; how divers soever the nature of the Psalm be, yet the Church hath appointed to shut up every Psalm with that one Acclamation, *Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, &c.* Whether I pray, or praise; deprecate Gods Judgements from my self, or imprecate them upon Gods enemies, nothing can fall from me, nothing can fall

¹²⁷⁰ upon me, but that God may receive glory by it, if I will glorifie him in it. So that then, in a useful sense, *Gloria Dei*, is *Gloria Deo*; but yet more literally, more directly, the glory of God in this place, is the glorious Gospel of Christ Jesus: which is that which is intended, and expressed in the next phrase, which is the last Branch, in this first acceptation of these words, *in facie*, *The glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ.*

When our Saviour Christ charged the Sadduces with error, it was not meerly because they were ignorant; the Sadduces were not so:

In facie

Mat. 22.29 but, *Erratis nescientes Scripturas*, says Christ; *You erre because you understand not the Scriptures*: All knowledge is ignorance, except it conduce to the knowledge of the Scriptures, and all the Scriptures lead us to Christ. *He is the brightness of his Fathers glory, and the express image of his person. The brightness of the everlasting light, and the image of his goodness*. And, to insist upon a word of the fittest signification, *Him hath God the Father sealed*. Now, *Sigillum imprimitur in Materia diversa*: A Seal graven in gold or stone, does not print in stone or gold: in Wax it will, and it will in Clay; for this Seal in which God hath manifested himself, we consider it not, as it is printed in the same metal, in the eternal Son of God: but as God ¹²⁸⁰ hath sealed himself in Clay, in the humane Nature; but yet in Wax too, in a person ductile, pliant, obedient to his will. And there, *Signatum super nos Lumen vultus tui*, says David, *The light of thy countenance*, that is, the image of thy self, *is sealed*; that is, derived, imprinted, upon us, that is, upon our nature, our flesh. *Signatum est, id est, significatum est*: God hath signified this presence, manifested, revealed himself in the face of *Jesus Christ*. For that is the Office, and service, that Christ avows himself to have done; *O Father, I have manifested thy Name*: that is, thy Name of Father, as thou art a Father: for, *Qui solum Deum novit Creatorem, Judaicæ mensuram prudentiae non excedit*. Knowest thou that there is a God, and that that God created the world? What great knowledge is this? The Jews know it too. *Non est Idem, nosse Deum opificem esse, & habere filium*. It is another Religion, another point of Faith, to know that God had a Son of eternal begetting, and to have a world of late making. God therefore hath shin'd in no mans heart, till he know the glory of GOD in the face of Jesus Christ, till he come to the manifestation of God, in the Gospel. So that, that man comes short of this light, that believes in God, in a general, in an incomprehensible power, but not in Christ; and that man goes beyond this light, who ¹²⁹⁰ will know more of God, then is manifested in the Gospel, which is the face of Christ Jesus: the one comes not to the light, the other goes beyond, and both are in blindness. Christ is the Image of God, and the Gospel is the face of Christ: and now, I rest not in Gods picture, as I find it in every Creature; though there be in every Creature an Image of God; I have a livelier Image of God, Christ. And

Heb. 1.3

Sap. 7.26

Jo. 6.27

Hilari

Ps. 4.6

Tertul.

Cyrill

Chrysost.

then I seek not for Christs face, as it was traditionally sent to *Agbarus* in his life; nor for his face, as it was imprinted in the *Veronica*, in the womans Apron, as he went to his death; nor for his face, as it was described in *Lentulus* his Letter, to the Senate of *Rome*; but I have

¹³²⁰ the glory of God in Christ, I, and I have the face of Christ in the Gospel. Except God had taken this very person upon him, this individual person, me, (which was impossible, because I am a sinful person) he could not have come nearer, then in taking this nature upon him. Now I cannot say, as the man at the Pool, *Hominem non habeo, I have no man to help me*; the Heathen cannot say, I have no God; but I cannot say, I have no man; for I have a Man, the Man Jesus; him, who by being Man, knows my misery; and by being God, can and will show mercy unto me. *The night is far spent*, says the Apostle, *the day is at hand; Nox ante Christum, Aurora in Evangelio*,

[Joh. 5.7]

¹³³⁰ *Dies in Resurreccione*. Till Christ all was night; there was a beginning of day, in the beginning of the Gospel, and there was a full noon in the light and glory thereof; but such a day, as shall be always day, and overtaken with no night, no cloud, is onely the day of Judgement, the Resurrection: And this hath brought us to our last step, to the consideration of these three terms; 1. *knowledge*; 2. *glory*; 3. *the face of Christ Jesus in that everlasting Kingdom*.

Rom. 13.12
Gregor.

For this purpose did *God command light out of darkness*, that men might glorifie God in the contemplation of the Creatures; and for this purpose *hath God shin'd in our hearts*, by the Scriptures in the ¹³⁴⁰ Church, that man might be directed towards him, here; but both these hath God done therefore, to this purpose, this is the end of all, that man might come to this light, in that everlasting state, in the consummation of happiness in Soul, and body too, when we shall be call'd out of the solitariness of the grave, to the blessed and glorious society of God, and his Angels, and his Saints there. *Hoc verbo reconcinnor, & componor, & in alium virum migro*: with that word, *Surgite mortui*, Arise yee that sleep in the dust, all my peeces shall be put together again, *Reconcinnor*; with that word, *Intra in gaudium*, Enter into thy Masters joy, I am settled, I am established, *Componor*; and with ¹³⁵⁰ that word, *Sede ad dextram*, sit down at my right hand, I become another manner of man, *In alium virum migro*; another manner of Miracle, then the same Father makes of man in this world; *Quodnam*

Consum-
mativè

Nazianzen

[Mat. 25.21]

Mysterium, says he, What a Mystery is man here? *Parvus sum & Magnus*: I am less in body then many Creatures in the World, and yet greater in the compass and extent of my Soul then all the World: *Humillimus sum, & Excelsus*; I am under a necessity of spending some thoughts upon this low World, and yet in an ability to study, to contemplate, to lay hold upon the next: *Mortalis sum, & immortalis*; in a Body that may, that must, that does, that did dye ever since

¹³⁶⁰ it was made, I carry a Soul, nay, a Soul carries me, to such a perpetuity, as no Saint, no Angel, God himself shall not survive me, over-live me. And lastly, says he, *Terrenus sum, & Cœlestis*; I have a Body, but of Earth; but yet of such Earth, as God was the Potter to mold it, God was the statuary to fashion it; and then I have a Soul, of which God was the Father, he breath'd it into me, and of which no matter can say, I was the Mother, for it proceeded of nothing. Such a Mystery is man here; but he is a Miracle hereafter; I shall be still the same man, and yet have another being: And in this is that Miracle exalted, that death who destroys me, re-edifies me: *Mors veluti me-*

¹³⁷⁰ *dium excogitata, ut de integro restauraretur homo*: man was fallen, and God took that way to raise him, to throw him lower, into the grave; man was sick, and God invented, God studied Physick for him, and strange Physick, to recover him by death. The first *faciamus hominem*, the Creation of man, was a thing incomprehensible in Nature; but the *Denuo nasci*, to be born again, was stranger, even to *Nicodemus*, who knew the former, the Creation, well enough. But yet the *Immutabimur* is the greatest of all, which *St. Paul* calls all to wonder at, *Behold, I shew you a Mystery, we shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed*: A Mystery, which if *Nicodemus* had dis-

¹³⁸⁰ cern'd it, would have put him to more wonder, then the *Denuo nasci*; to enter into his mothers womb, (as he speaks) to enter into the Bowels of the Earth, and lie there, and lie dead there, not nine months, but many yeers, and then to be born again, and the first minute of that new Birth to be so perfect, as that nothing can be better, and so perfect as that he can never become worse, that is that which makes all strange accidents to natural Bodies, and Bodies Politike too, all changes in man, all revolutions of States, easie, and familiar to us; I shall have another being, and yet be the same man. And in that state, I shall *have the light of the knowledge of the glory*

Cyril

[Gen. 1.26]

Joh. 3.4

1 Cor. 15.51

Scientia

¹³⁹⁰ of God, in the face of Christ Jesus. Of which three things being now come to speak, I am the less sorry, and so may you be too, if my voice be so sunk, as that I be not heard; for, if I had all my time, and all my strength, and all your patience reserv'd till now, what could I say that could become, what, that could have any proportion, *to this knowledge, and this glory, and this face of Christ Jesus*, there in the Kingdome of Heaven? But yet be pleased to hear a word, of each of these three words; and first, of *Knowledge*. In the Attributes of God, we consider his Knowledge to be *Principium agendi dirigens*, The first proposer, and Director; This should be done: and then his ¹⁴⁰⁰ Will to be *Principium imperans*, the first Commander, This shall be done; and then his Power to be *Principium exsequens*, the first Performer, This is done: This should be done, this shall be done, this is done, expresses to us, the Knowledge, the Will, and the Power of God. Now we shall be made partakers of the Divine Nature, and the Knowledge, and the Will, and the Power of God, shall be so far communicated to us there, as that we shall know all that belongs to our happiness, and we shall have a will to doe, and a power to execute, whatsoever conduces to that. And for the knowledge of Angels, that is not in them *per essentiam*, for whosoever knows so, as the Essence ¹⁴¹⁰ of the thing flows from him, knows all things, and that's a knowledge proper to God only: Neither doe the Angels know *per species*, by those resultances and species, which rise from the Object, and pass through the Sense to the Understanding, for that's a deceiveable way, both by the indisposition of the Organ, sometimes, and sometimes by the depravation of the Judgment; and therefore, as the first is too high, this is too low a way for the Angels. Some things the Angels do know by the dignity of their Nature, by their Creation, which we know not; as we know many things which inferior Creatures do not; and such things all the Angels, good and bad know. Some things ¹⁴²⁰ they know by the Grace of their confirmation, by which they have more given them, then they had by Nature in their Creation; and those things only the Angels that stood, but all they, do know. Some things they know by Revelation, when God is pleased to manifest them unto them; and so some of the Angels know that, which the rest, though confirm'd, doe not know. By Creation, they know as his Subjects; by Confirmation, they know as his servants; by Revela-

tion, they know as his Council. Now, *Erimus sicut Angeli*, says Christ, *There we shall be as the Angels*: The knowledge which I have by Nature, shall have no Clouds; here it hath: that which I have by ¹⁴³⁰ Grace, shall have no reluctance, no resistance; here it hath: That which I have by Revelation, shall have no suspition, no jealousie; here it hath: sometimes it is hard to distinguish between a respiration from God, and a suggestion from the Devil. There our curiosity shall have this noble satisfaction, we shall know how the Angels know, by knowing as they know. We shall not pass from Author, to Author, as in a Grammar School, nor from Art to Art, as in an University; but, as that General which Knighted his whole Army, God shall Create us all Doctors in a minute. That great Library, those infinite Volumes of the Books of Creatures, shall be taken away, ¹⁴⁴⁰ quite away, no more Nature; those reverend Manuscripts, written with Gods own hand, the Scriptures themselves, shall be taken away, quite away; no more preaching, no more reading of Scriptures, and that great School-Mistress, Experience, and Observation shall be remov'd, no new thing to be done, and in an instant, I shall know more, then they all could reveal unto me. I shall know, not only as I know already, that a Bee-hive, that an Ant-hill is the same Book in *Decimo sexto*, as a Kingdom is in *Folio*, That a Flower that lives but a day, is an abridgment of that King, that lives out his threescore and ten yeers; but I shall know too, that all these Ants, and Bees, and Flowers, ¹⁴⁵⁰ and Kings, and Kingdoms, howsoever they may be Examples, and Comparisons to one another, yet they are all as nothing, altogether nothing, less then nothing, infinitely less then nothing, to that which shall then be the subject of my knowledge, for, *it is the knowledge of the glory of God*.

Gloria Dei

Joh. 17.5

Before, in the former acceptation, *the glory of God*, was our glorifying of God; here, the glory of God, is his glorifying of us: there it was his receiving, here it is his giving of glory. That prayer which our Saviour Christ makes, *Glorifie me, O Father, with thine own self, with the Glory which I had, before the world was*, is not a prayer ¹⁴⁶⁰ for the Essential Glory of God; for, Christ in his Divine Nature was never devested, never unaccompanied of that glory; and for his humane Nature, that was never capable of it: the attributes, and so the Essence of the Glory, of the Divinity, are not communicable to

his Humane Nature, neither perpetually, as the Ubiquitaries say, nor temporarily in the Sacrament, as the Papists imply. But the glory which Christ asks there, is, the glory of sitting down at the right hand of his Father in our flesh, in his humane Nature, which *glory he had before the world*, for he had it in his predestination, in the Eternal Decree. And that's the glory of God, which we shall know; know, by

¹⁴⁷⁰ having it. We shall have a knowledge of the very glory, the Essential glory of God, because we shall see him *Sicuti est*, as God is, in himself; and *Cognoscam ut cognitus; I shall know, as I am known*: that glory shall dilate us, enlarge us, give us an inexpressible capacity, and then fill it; but we shall never comprehend that glory, the Essential glory; but that glory which Christ hath received in his humane Nature, (in all other degrees, excepting those which flow from his hypostatical union) we shall comprehend, we shall know, by having: we shall receive a Crown of glory, that fadeth not: It is a Crown that compasses round, no enterance of danger any way; and a crown that

¹⁴⁸⁰ fadeth not, fears no winter: we shall have interest in all we see, and we shall see the treasure of all knowledge, *the face of Christ Jesus*. Then and there, we shall have an abundant satisfaction and accomplishment, of all St. *Augustines* three Wishes: He wish'd to have seen *Rome* in her glory, to have heard St. *Paul* preach, and to have seen Christ in the flesh. We shall have all: we shall see such a *Jerusalem*, as that *Rome*, if that were literally true, which is hyperbolically said of *Rome, In Urbe, in Orbe*, that City is the whole world, yet *Rome*, that *Rome*, were but a Village to this *Jerusalem*. We shall hear St. *Paul*, with the whole quire of Heaven, pour out himself in that ac-

¹⁴⁹⁰ clamation, *Salvation to our God, that sitteth upon the Throne, and to the Lamb*: and we shall see, and see for ever, Christ in that flesh, which hath done enough for his Friends, and is safe enough from his Enemies. We shall see him in a transfiguration, all clouds of sadness remov'd; and a transubstantiation, all his tears changed to Pearls, all his Blood-drops into Rubies, all the Thorns of his Crown into Diamonds: for, where we shall see the Walls of his Palace to be Saphyr, and Emerald, and Amethyst, and all Stones that are precious, what shall we not see in the face of Christ Jesus? and whatsoever we do see, by that very sight becomes ours. Be therefore no strangers to this

¹⁵⁰⁰ face: see him here, that you may know him, and he you, there: see

1 Cor. 13.12

1 Pet. 5.4

In facie

Apoc. 7.10

Apoc. 21.19

Apoc. 1

him, as St. *John* did, who turned to see a voice: see him in the preaching of his Word; see him in that seal, which is a Copy of him, as he is of his Father; see him in the Sacrament. Look him in the face as he lay in the Manger, poor, and then murmur not at temporal wants; suddenly enrich'd by the Tributes of Kings, and doubt not but that God hath large and strange ways to supply thee. Look him in the face, in the Temple, disputing there at twelve years; and then apply thy self to God, to the contemplation of him, to the meditation upon him, to a conversation with him betimes. Look him in the face in his

¹⁵¹⁰ Fathers house; a Carpenter, and but a Carpenter. Take a Calling, and contain thy self in that Calling. But bring him nearer, and look him in the face, as he look'd upon Friday last; when he whose face

the Angels desire to look on, he who was fairer then the children of men, as the Prophet speaks, was so marr'd more then any man, as another Prophet says, *That they hid their faces from him, & despised him*; when he who bore up the heavens bowed down his head, and he who gives breath to all, *gave up the ghost*: and then look him in the face again, as he look'd yesterday, not lam'd upon the Cross, not putrif'd in the Grave, not singed in Hell, rais'd, and raised by his

¹⁵²⁰ own power, Victoriously, triumphantly, to the destruction of the last Enemy, death; look him in the face in all these respects, of Humiliation, and of Exaltation too; and then, as a Picture looks upon him, that looks upon it, God upon whom thou keepest thine Eye, will keep his Eye upon thee, and, as in the Creation, when *he commanded light out of darkness*, he gave thee a capacity of this light; and as in thy Vocation, when *he shin'd in thy heart*, he gave thee an inchoation of this light, so in associating thee to himself at the last day, he will perfect, consummate, accomplish all, and give thee *the light of the glory of God, in the face of Christ Jesus* there.

¹⁵³⁰ This is the last word of our Text: but we make up our Circle by returning to the first word; the first word is, *For*; for the Text is a reason of that which is in the Verse immediately before the Text; that is, We preach not our selves, *but Christ Jesus the Lord, and our selves your servants, for Jesus sake*. We stop not on this side Christ Jesus; we dare not say, that any man is sav'd without Christ; we dare say, that none can be saved, that hath received that light, and hath not beleev'd in him. We carry you not beyond Christ neither, not beyond

Psal. 45.2

Esai 52.14

53.3

[Joh. 19.30]

[Eph. 2.12]

that face of his, in which he is manifested, the Scriptures. Till you come to Christ *you are without God*, as the Apostle says to the ¹⁵⁴⁰ *Ephesians*: and when you goe beyond Christ, to Traditions of men, you are without God too. There is a *sine Deo*, a left handed Atheism, in the meer natural man, that will not know Christ; and there is a *sine Deo*, a right handed Atheism in the stubborn Papist, who is not content with Christ. They preach Christ Jesus and themselves, and make themselves Lords over you in Jesus place, and farther then ever he went. *We preach not our selves, but him, and our selves your servants for his sake*; and this is our service, to tell you the whole compass, the beginning, the way, and the end of all, that all is done in, and by, and for Christ Jesus, that from thence flow, and thither lead, and ¹⁵⁵⁰ there determine all, to bring you, from the memory of your Creation, by the sense of your Vocation, to the assurance of your glorification, by the manifestation of God in Christ, and Christ in the Scriptures. *For, God who commanded light out of darkness, hath shin'd, &c.*

Number 4.

*A Sermon Preached at Lincolns-Inn,
Ascension-day, 1622.*

DEVT. 12.30. *TAKE HEED TO THY SELF, THAT THOU BE NOT SNARED BY FOLLOWING THEM AFTER THEY BE DESTROYED FROM BEFORE THEE; AND THAT THOU INQUIRE NOT AFTER THEIR GODS, SAYING, HOW DID THOSE NATIONS SERVE THEIR GODS? EVEN SO WILL I DO LIKEWISE.*

Psal. 24.3

WHEN I consider our ascension in this life, (that which David speaks of, *Who shall ascend into the hill of the Lord?*) I see the Prophet adds there, as another manner of expressing the same thing, *And who shall stand in that holy place? Quis ascendet, & quis stabit?* A man does not ascend, except he stand. And such an ascension (an ascension without a redescent) Moses provides for here. First they should ascend to an abolishing of all Idolatry; And then they should stand in that state, persevere in that station, and perpetuate that ascension to themselves, by shutting ¹⁰ themselves up against any new reentries of that Idolatry which had been once happily banished from amongst them. The inchoation of this ascension, that step which is happily made in the abolishing of idolatry, is in the beginning of this Chapter; *Ye shall utterly destroy all the places, (which is a vehement gradation and heightening of the commandment:)* It is a destruction, not a faint discontinuing of idolatry, but destruction; It is utter destruction, not a defacing, not

a deferring of idolatry; and it is the utter destruction of the very place, not a seising the riches of the place, nor a slight correction of the abuses of the place, but the place it self, and (as is there expressed)

²⁰ all the place, not to leave the Devil one Chappel wherein the Nations had served their gods. And the Holy Ghost proceeds in the next verse with this particular vehemency, *You shall overthrow their altars, break their pillars, burn their groves, hew down their images, and destroy their names.* But all this is but the inchoation of this ascension, the first step in abolishing idolatry: The consummation of it is, in standing there; and that's in this Text, *Take heed to thyself, &c.*

The words are an Inhibition, and the persons are all they to whom God hath extended his favors, so far as to deliver them from Idolatry

Divisio

³⁰ formerly practised amongst them, and to bring them to the sincere worship of his Name. And for such persons we need not go far, for we our selves are they. God hath given us such a deliverance heretofore in the reformation of Religion; so far we are ascended, and so the Inhibition lies upon us, that we slide not back again. It hath two parts; 1. The main matter of the Inhibition, That we be not snared by Idolaters, after they have been destroyed from before us. And secondly, two particular dangers whereby we may be snared; First,

by following them: Take heed you be not snared by them; and then by an over-curious enquiring into their Religion, *Enquire not after their Gods, &c.* And through the first, the matter of the Inhibition, we shall pass by these steps, 1. That there is no security; there is still danger, though the Idolater be destroyed. And secondly, That there is therefore a diligence to be required, *Take heed to thy self.* And then thirdly, That the danger from which this diligence must deliver us, is a *snare; Take heed lest thou be snared.* And for the branches of the second part, the *snare of following them;* the snare of enquiring into their opinions; it shall least incumber you to have them opened then, when we come to handle them; first we pass through the first part.

⁵⁰ In that, the first branch is, That there is no security, though the enemy be destroyed. And there we are to consider first, what amounts to a destruction, what is called a destruction in this case; God had promised the children of *Israel*, that he would give all the inhabitants

1 Part

Exod. 23.23 of the Land of Promise into their hands; that he would abolish them, destroy them, and (as his own phrase is) *cut them off*. God performs all his promises; was this performed to them? did God destroy them all? Truly it was very much that God did in this behalf. He got great victories for them, and by strange means. One angel was able to destroy for them almost 200 thousand *Assyrians* in one night in *Senacherib's Army*. This was a real execution by the hands of one, who having Commission, had truly Power to do it, an Angel. But he prevailed for them so too in another case, only by an apparition of Angels, when there was no blow strucken, when *Elisha's* servant saw mountains full of Horses and Chariots of fire. He prevailed for them by creatures of a much lower rank, and weak in their nature, by Hornets. He promises *Moses*, that he would send Hornets before them, and they should drive out the Inhabitants of the Land. He prevails for them by creatures of a lower rank then they, by creatures without life, by stones. The Lord discomfited them by great stones

Jos. 10.10 ⁷⁰ from heaven. He prevailed by that which is no creature, no subsistence, a sound only, *The Lord thundered with a great Thunder upon the Philistines, and discomfited them*. He took a lower way then this, he employed nothing, and yet did the work, by imprinting a terror in their hearts, *Five of you shall chase a hundred, and a hundred of you shall put ten thousand to flight*. And a way lower then that; he wrought not upon their mindes, but upon their senses. He smote a whole Army with blindness. And he went further yet; he did nothing at all upon them, and yet wrought his purpose, only by diversion; when *Saul* pursued *David* with the most vehemence of all,

[Lev. 26.8] ⁸⁰ a messenger came and told him that the *Philistines* had invaded his Land, and then he gave over the pursuit of *David*. Really great, admirably strange things did God in the behalf of his children, for the destruction of his and their Idolatrous enemies. But yet were they ever destroy'd? totally destroy'd they were not; *The Lord left some Nations* (says the Text there) *without hastily driving them out; neither did he deliver them into the hands of Joshuah. The Jebusites dwell with the children of Benjamin in Jerusalem unto this day*, (says that holy story) and so did other Nations with the other Tribes in other places. They were able (as we are told there) to put the *Canaanites* to

2 Kin. 6.18 ⁹⁰ Tribute, but not to drive them out; to make Penal Laws against them,

1 Sam. 7.10

2 Kin. 6.16

Exod. 23.28

1 Sam. 23.27

Judg. 2.23

1.21

28

but not to deliver the Land of them. Now why did God do this? We would not ask this question, if God had not told us, *ut erudiret in iis Israelem*, that the Enemy might be their Schoolmaster, and War their Catechism, that they might never think that they stood in no more need of God. *The Lord was with Judah*, (saith the Text) so far with him, as that he drove out the Inhabitants of the Mountain, but yet would not drive out the Inhabitants of the Valley. Sometimes God does the greater work, and yet leaves some lesser things undone. God chooses his Matter and his Manner, and his Measure, and his Means,

¹⁰⁰ and his Minutes: But yet God is truly and justly said to have destroyed those Idolatrous Enemies, in that he brought them so low, as that they could not give Laws to the children of *Israel*, nor force them to the Idolatrous Worship of their gods, though some scattered Idolaters did still live amongst them. God could destroy *Nequitas in cœlestibus*, he could evacuate all Powers and Principalities, he could annihilate the Devil, or he could put him out of Commission, take from him the power of tempting or soliciting his servants. Though God hath not done it, yet he is properly said to have destroyed him, because he hath destroyed his Kingdom. *Death is swallowed up in*

¹¹⁰ *victory*, saith Saint Paul out of *Ose*. *O death, where is thy sting?* says he. Where is it? Why, it is in thy bosome. It is at the heart of the greatest Princes of the earth; Though they be gods, they die like men. *O grave, where is thy victory?* says he there. Why, above the Victories, and Trophies and Triumphs of all the Conquerors in the world. And yet the Apostle speaks, (and justly) as if there were no death in man, no sting in death, no grave after death, because to him who dies in the Lord, all this is nothing; not he by death, but death in him is destroyed. And as it is of the cause of Sin, the Devil; and of the effect of Sin, Death; so is it of Sin it self; it is destroyed, and yet we sin.

¹²⁰ *He that is born of God, doth not commit sin* so, as that sin shall be imputed to him. Sin and Satan, and Death are destroyed in us, because they can do no harm to us. So the Idolatrous Nations were destroyed amongst the *Israelites*, because they could not bring in an Inquisition amongst them, and force them to their Religion. And so Idolatry hath been destroyed amongst us, destroyed so, as that it hath been declared to be Idolatry towards God, and declared to be complicated and wrapped up inseparably in Treason towards the King and

3.1

1.19

[Psa.
82.6, 7]

[1 Cor. 15.54
Ose. 13.14]

[1 John
5.18]

the State. Our Schools and Pulpits have destroyed it, and our Parliaments have destroyed it. Our Pulpits establish them that stay at home; ¹³⁰ and our Laws are able to lay hold upon them that run from home, and return ill affected to their home. Let no man therefore murmur at Gods proceedings, and say, If God had a minde to destroy Idolatry, he would have left no seed, or he would not have admitted such a repullulation, and such a growth of that seed as he hath done. God hath his own ends and his own ways: He destroyed the Nations from before the *Israelites*; Christ hath destroyed Sin, and Satan, and Death, and Hell; and Idolaters amongst us, for Gods greater glory, do remain. For such a destruction as should be absolute, God never intended, God never promised; for that were to occasion, and to induce ¹⁴⁰ a security, and remove all diligence: Which is our second Branch in this first part (*Cave tibi*) see, take heed, &c.

In the beginning of the world we presume all things to have been produced in their best state; all was perfect, and yet how soon a decay! all was summer, and yet how soon a fall of the leaf! a fall in Paradise, not of the leaf, but of the Tree it self, *Adam* fell; A fall before that, in heaven it self, Angels fell: Better security then *Adam*, then Angels had there, we cannot have, we cannot look for here. And therefore there is danger still, still occasion of diligence, of consideration. The chewing of the Cudd was a distinctive mark of cleanness

Lev. 11.3

1 Cor. 12.31

Chrysost.

Rom. 9.3

Luc. 5.8

[Mat. 6.10]

¹⁵⁰ in the Creature: The holy rumination, the daily consideration of his Christianity, is a good character of a Christian. *Covet earnestly the best gifts*, says the Apostle; those to whom he writ had good gifts already, yet he exhorts them to a desire of better. And what doth he promise them? not the Gift it self, but the way to it, *I will shew a more excellent way*. There is still something more excellent then we have yet attained to. *Non dicit charisma, sed viam*. The best step, the best height in this world, is but the way to a better; and still we have way before us to walk further in. *Anathema pro fratribus*, was but once said; St. *Paul* once, and in a vehement, and inordinate zeal, and religious distemper said so, That he *could be content to be separated from Christ. Exi à me Domine*, was but once said, once St. *Peter* said, *Depart from me, O Lord. The Anathema, the exi but once; but the Adveniat Regnum, Let thy Kingdom come*, I hope is said more then once by every one of us, every day; every day we receive, and yet

every day we pray for that Kingdom, more and more assurance of Glory, by more and more increase of Grace. For as there are bodily diseases, and spiritual diseases too, proper to certain ages, (a yong man and an old man are not ordinarily subject to the same distempers, nor to the same vices) so particular forms of Religion have their ¹⁷⁰ indispositions, their ill inclinations too. Thou art bred in a Reformed Church, where the truth of Christ is sincerely Preached, bless God for it; but even there thou mayest contract a pride, an opinion of purity, and uncharitably despise those who labour yet under their ignorances or superstitions; or thou mayest grow weary of thy Manna, and smell after *Egyptian* Onions again. It is not enough that the State and the Church hath destroyed Idolatry so far as we said before; still there are weeds, still there are seeds: And therefore *Cave*, Take heed. But yet it is but, *Take heed*. It is not, take thought. *Afflict not thy self*, deject not thy self with ominous presages, and prophetical ¹⁸⁰ melancholy, [that] thy God will overthrow this Religion, and destroy this work which his right hand hath been a hundred years in repairing, and scatter his corn which his right hand hath been a hundred years in purifying. Come not to say, It was but the passion and animosity of *Luther*, It was but the ambition and singularity of *Calvin* that induc'd this Religion, and now that that is spent, the Religion melts like snow. Take no such thought, be not afraid that the truth of God shall or can perish: It is not, Take thought; but it is much less, Take arms. Men may have false conceptions of preparations, and ways laid towards a re-entry of Idolatry; and men may have just and ¹⁹⁰ true reasons of, or religious indignation to see so bad and so insolent uses made of those favours which are offered to persons of that profession; but yet our inhibition is no further here, but to take heed, not to take arms, not to come by violence, not to slackness of Allegiance and Obedience. It is but *Take heed*, and but *Take heed to thy self*. Pretend not thou who art but a private man, to be an Overseer of the Publick, or a Controller of him who (by way of coaction) is accountable to God only, and neither to any great Officer at home, nor to the whole body of the people there, nor to any neighbour-Prince or State abroad. Idolatry is destroyed; but yet there is danger, not to ²⁰⁰ make thee take thought, to suspect Gods Power, or his Will to sustain his Cause; not to take arms, as if the Lord of Hosts needed

[Num.
11.5]

Rebels; but to take heed, to watch plots of circumvention, and to heed to thy self, that is, to all under thy charge, for thy danger is not evident. It is a snare, *Laqueus*, which is our last stop and step in this first part.

There is danger though the Idolaters be thus destroyed. There is use of diligence, if there be danger, and the more, if this danger be a snare. Take heed that the Idolater do not kindle a Rebellion; take heed that the Idolater do not sollicite an Invasion; take heed of

²¹⁰ publick and general dangers. These be Caveats for Princes; but take heed of a snake, take heed of a snare, this appertains to every private man. God studied plagues for *Egypt*, and they were strange plagues;

Psal. 11.6

69.22

but that's as great as any at least, which *David* speaks of, *Pluet laqueos, Upon the wicked God shall rain snares.* And after, *Mensa laqueus, Their table shall become a snare before them.* And if God punish our negligence of his former favours so far, as to rain snares even at our tables, that almost at every table that we can come to, we shall meet some that would ensnare us, is not this Caveat necessary in these times? *Take heed that thou be not snared.* *David* thought he

²²⁰ had carried his complaint to the highest, when he said of his Enemies,

64.5

They commune of laying snares privily. But now they do not plot privily, but avow their mischiefs, and speak so, as we dare scarce confess that we heard them: And that's a shrewd snare, when they dare

Amos 3.5

speak more then we dare hear. *Will a man have taken up a snare from the earth, and have taken nothing?* saith the Prophet. Since they have laid their snares, they will take some, and thou mayest be one: And therefore take heed of their snares. There is a snare laid for thy son, a perswasion to send him to foreign Universities; they will say, Not to change his Religion: For Religion, let him do as he shall

²³⁰ see cause; but there he shall be better taught, and better bred then at home. There is a snare laid for thy servants, what need they come to Church, they have nothing to lose, who will indite them, who will persecute them? And yet in due time such servants may do the

Cause as much good as the Masters. There is a snare laid for thy wife; Her Religion, say they, doth not hinder her husbands preferment, why should she refuse to apply her self to them? We have used to speak proverbially of a Curtain Sermon, as of a shrewd thing; but a Curtain Mass, a Curtain *Requiem*, a snare in thy bed, a snake in thy

bosome is somewhat worse. I know not what name we may give to
²⁴⁰ such a womans husband; but I am sure such a wife hath committed adultery, Spiritual Adultery, and that with her husbands knowledge; call him what you will. There is a snare for thy servant, for thy son, for thy wife, and for thy fame too; and how far soever thou wert from it, they will have the world believe thou diedst a Papist. If thy declination be towards profit, if thy byas turn that way, there is a snare in the likeness of a Chain, of a Jewel, a Pension. If it be society and conversation, there may be a snare in meeting more good company at Masses, then at thy Parish Church. If it be levity, and affectation of new things, there may be a snare of things so new in that Religion, as that this Kingdom never saw them yet, not then when this Kingdom was of that Religion. For we had received the Reformation before the Council of *Trent*, and before the growth of the Jesuits: And if we should turn to them now, we should be worse then we were before we receiv'd the Reformation; and the Council of *Trent* and the Jesuits have made that Religion worse then it was; as St. *Bernard* says upon St. *Pauls* words, *Neither height, nor depth, nor life, nor death, shall separate us: Minime tamen dicit, nec nos ipsi.* The Apostle doth not say, that we our selves, and our own concupisences shall not separate us from God. So though Excommunications
²⁵⁰ have not, Invasions have not, Powder-Plots have not; yet God knows what those snares may work upon us. *In laqueo suo comprehendantur*, says *David*. Now *laqueus* is a snare, as their malice intends it for us; and *laqueus* is a halter, as our Laws intend it for them; and *in laqueo suo*, as it's theirs, let them be taken. Our good and great God in his power and mercy hath destroyed Idolatry; but in his wisdom he hath left exercise for our diligence in some danger, and that danger is a snare, and therefore, *Take heed thou be not snared.* And so we have done with the first part.

Our second part consists of two branches, of two ways of falling
²⁷⁰ into this danger. First, by *following them*; and then, by *inquiring into their Religion*. For the first, the Original word which we translate, *following*, is *Achareihem*, and it is only *post eos, Come not after them;* which (if we were to reflect at all, which we always avoid, upon publick things) would afford a good note for the publick, for the Magistrate, *Come not after these Idolaters, but be still beforehand with*

Rom. 8.38

Psal. 9.16

2 Part

them. That which is proverbially said of particular Bodies, will hold in a Body Politick, in any State, *Qui medicè miserè*. That man hath no health, who is put to sustain it, or repair it with continual Physick. That State hath no safety, that refers all to a defensive War, and to a

Luke 4.23

²⁸⁰ reparation of Breaches, then when they are made. That State will be

subject to the other Proverb, which Christ foresaw: *Medice cura te ipsum*. That State which hath been a Physitian to all her neighbour States, let blood, and staunched blood in them, so as conduced best to their own health, may be put to employ all her means upon her self, to repair and cure her self, if she *follow*, that is (in this acceptation of the word) *come after her Idolatrous enemies*, and be not still beforehand with them. But that is not our sphear, the Publick, the State; but yet States consist of Families, and Families of private persons, and they are in our sphear, in our charge. And therefore we lay

²⁹⁰ this Inhibition upon all that are Masters of Families, *Take heed of being snared by following*, by coming after *them*, in this sense. That

because thou thinkest thou hast a power in thy wife, in thy children, in thy servants, and canst do what thou wilt with them at any time, therefore thou needest not be so scrupulous at first, but mayst admit any supplacers, any underminers into thy house, because they are good company, or because they have relation to great persons. Come not to this, *Post eos*, play not that after-game, to put thy self to a necessity of taking sowre and unkinde courses with wife and children after; but be beforehand with such Idolaters, prevent their snare. We

[Col. 3.5]

³⁰⁰ lay this Inhibition too upon every particular conscience. *Covetousness is Idolatry*, saith the Apostle, and *Quot vitia, tot Idola*, saith St.

Hierom. As many habitual sins as we have, so many Idols have we set up. True repentance destroyes this Idolatry, 'tis true; but then, *Take heed of being snared*, post ea, by coming after *them*, by exposing thy self to dangers of relapses again, by consideration how easily thou madest thy peace last time with God. It was but a sigh, but a tear, but a bending of the knee, but a receiving of the Sacrament, that went to it then. And *post ea*, when all is done which was done before in the way of sin, all that is easily done over again, which was

³¹⁰ done in the way of remedy. Say not so: for a merry heart, and a cheerful countenance, upon the testimony of a good conscience, is a better way to God then all the dejections of Spirit, all the sowre contritions,

and sad remorses in the world. Thou art not sure that thou shalt get so far, as to such a sadness as God requires for sin, thou mayst continue in thy presumption. Thou art not sure that thou shalt go no further then God requires, in that sadness, it may flow out to desperation. Be beforehand with thy sins, watch the approaches of those enemies; for if thou build upon that way of coming after them upon presumption of mercy, upon repentance, thou maist be snared, and ³²⁰ therefore *take heed*. And this is the sense of the phrase, as the Original will afford it, with Idolaters in the State, with Underminers in thy House, with sins in thy Soul, be still beforehand, watch their dangerous accesses. But St. *Hierom*, and the great stream of Expositors that go with him, give another sense of the word, *Ne imiteris, Be not snared by following them*. And in that sense we are to take the word now.

Follow them not then, that is, imitate them not, neither in their Severity and Cruelty, nor in their Levity and Facility, neither not in their Severity, when they will apply all the capital and bloody penalties of the Imperial Laws (made against *Arrians, Manicheans, Pelagians, and Nestorians*, Hereticks in the fundamental points of Religion, and with which Christ could not consist) to every man that denys any collateral and subdivided Tradition of theirs; that if a man conceive any doubt of the dream of Purgatory, of the validity of indulgence, of the Latitude of a work of Supererogation, he is as deep in the fagot here, and shall be as deep in Hell hereafter, as if he denied the Trinity, or the Incarnation and Passion of Christ Jesus; when in a days warning, and by the roaring of one Bull, it grows to be damnation to day, to beleeve so as a man might have beleeeved yesterday, and have bin saved, when they will afford no Salvation, but in that ³³⁰ Church which is discernable by certain and inseparable marks, which our Country-man *Saunders* makes to be six, and *Michael Medina* extends to eleven, and *Bellarmino* declares to be fifteen, and *Bodius* stretches to a hundred, when they make every thing Heresie; and rather then lack a Text for putting Hereticks to death, will accept that false reading, *hæreticum hominem devita*, which being spoken of avoiding, they will needs interpret of killing (for *Erasmus* cites a Witness, who heard an antient and grave Divine cite that place so, and to that purpose) follow them not, do not imitate them; be content to judge more charitably of them. For those amongst them who

³⁵⁰ are under an invincible ignorance (because their Superiors keep the Scriptures from them) God may be pleased to save by that revelation of his Son Christ Jesus, which he hath afforded them in that Church: Howsoever, they who have had light offered to them, and wilfully resist it, must necessarily perish. Follow them not, imitate them not in that severity, necessarily to damn all who think not in all things as they do: Nor follow them not in that facility, to make their Divinity, and the Tenets of their Church, to wait upon temporal affairs, and emergent occasions. The *Anabaptist* will delude the Magistrate in an examination, or in any practise, because he thinks no man ought to be

³⁶⁰ a Magistrate over him in things that have any relation to spiritual Cognizance, and Treason in alienating the Subject from his Allegiance must be of spiritual cognizance. Where others are too strong for them, they may disguise their Religion (so their Jesuit *Ribadineyra* says) and where they are too strong for others, they must profess it, though with Arms (so their Jesuit *Bellarmino* argues it.) In this planetary, in this transitory, in this occasional Religion, follow them not: We say in Logick, *Substantia non suscipit magis & minus*, Substantial and fundamental points of Religion (and obedience to Superiors is amongst those) do not ebb and flow; they binde all men,

³⁷⁰ and at all times, and in all cases. *Induite Dominum Jesum*, says the Apostle, *Put ye on the Lord Jesus*, and keep him on, put him not off again. Christ is not only the Stuff, but the Garment ready made; he will not be translated and turn'd, and put into new fashions, nor laid up in a Wardrobe, but put on all day, all the days of our life; though it rain, and rain blood; how foul soever any persecution make the day, we must keep on that Garment, the true profession of Christ Jesus; follow not these men in their severity, to exclude men from salvation in things that are not fundamental, nor in their facility to disguise and prevaricate in things that are.

³⁸⁰ Augustine The second danger, and our last Branch of this last Part is, *Enquire not after their gods, &c.* Ignorance excuses no man. What is curiosity? *Qui scire vult ut sciatur*, He that desires knowledge only that he may know, or be known by others to know; he who makes not the end of his knowledge the glory of God, he offends in curiosity, says that Father; But that is only in the end. But in the way to knowledge there is curiosity too; In seeking such things as man hath no faculty to

Rom. 13.14

Augustine

compass, unrevealed mysteries; In seeking things, which if they may be compassed, yet it is done by indirect means, by Invocation of Spirits, by Sorcery; In seeking things which may be found, and by
 390 good means, but appertain not to our profession; all these ways men offend in curiosity. It is so in us, in Church-men, *si Iambos servemus, & metrorum silvam congerimus*, If we be over-vehemently affected or transported with Poetry, or other secular Learning. And therefore St. Hierom is reported himself to have been whipt by an Angel, who found him over-studious in some of *Cicero's* Books. This is curiosity in us, and it is so in you, if when you have sufficient means of salvation Preached to you in that Religion wherein you were Baptized, you enquire too much, too much trouble your self with the Religion of those, from whose superstitions you are already by Gods goodness

Hieron.

400 rescued; remember that he who desired to fill himself with the husks, was the Prodigal. It was Prodigality, and a dangerous expence of your constancy, to open your self to temptation, by an unnecessary enquiring into impertinent controversies. We in our profession may embrace secular Learning, so far as it may conduce to the better discharge of our duties, in making the easier entrance, and deeper impression of Divine things in you: You may inform your selves occasionally, when any scruple takes hold of you, of any point of their Religion. But let your study be rather to live according to that Religion which you have, then to enquire into that from which God hath

[Luke
15.16]

410 delivered you; for that's the looking back of *Lots* wife, and the distemper and distaste of the children of *Israel*, who remembred too much the *Egyptian* diet. If you will enquire whether any of the Fathers of the Primitive Church did at any time pray for any of the dead, you shall be told (and truly) that *Augustine* did, that *Ambrose* did; but you shall not so presently be told how they deprehended themselves in an infirmity, and collected and corrected themselves ever when they were so praying. If you enquire whether any of them speak of Purgatory, you shall easily finde they do; but not so easily, in what sense; when they call the calamities of this life, or when they
 420 call the general Conflagration of the world, Purgatory. If you enquire after Indulgences, you may finde the name frequent amongst them; but not so easily finde when and how the Relaxations of Penances publickly enjoyned, were called Indulgences; nor how, nor when Indulgences came to be applyed to souls departed. If thou enquire with-

[Gen.
19.26]

out a *Melius Inquirendum*, without a through Inquisition (which is not easie for any man who makes it not his whole study and profession) thou maist come to think holy men have pray'd for the dead, why may not I? Holy men speak of Purgatory and Indulgences, why should I abhor the names or the things? And so thou maist fall into ⁴³⁰ the first snare, it hath been done, therefore it may be done; and into another after, It may be done, therefore it must be done: When thou art come to think that some men are saved that have done it, thou wilt think that no man can be saved except he do it: From making infirmities excusable necessary (which is the bondage the Council of *Trent* hath laid upon the world) to make Problematical things, Dogmatical; and matter of Disputation, matter of Faith; to bring the University into *Smithfield*, and heaps of Arguments into Piles of Faggots. If thou enquire further then thy capacity enables thee, further then thy calling provokes thee; How do those Nations serve their ⁴⁴⁰ gods? thou maist come to say, as the Text says, in the end, *Even so will I do also.*

To end all, embrace Fundamental, Dogmatical, evident Divinity; That is express'd in *Credendis*, in the things which we are to believe in the Creed. And it begins with *Credo in Deum*, Belief in God, and not in man, nor traditions of men. And it is expressed in *petendis*, in the things which we are to pray for in the Lords Prayer; and that begins with *Sanctificetur nomen tuum*, *Hallowed be thy Name*, not the name of any. And it is expressed in *Agendis*, in the things which we are to do in the Commandments; whereof the first Table begins with

[Mat. 6.9]

⁴⁵⁰ that, *Thou shalt have no other gods but me*. God is a Monarch alone, not a Consul with a Colleague. And the second Table begins with Honor to Parents, that is, to Magistrates, to lawful Authority. Be therefore always far from disobeying lawful Authority, resist it not, calumniate it not, suspect it not; for there is a libelling in the ear, and a libelling in the heart, though it come not to the tongue or hands, to

[Rom. 12.18]

words, nor actions. *If it be possible*, saith the Apostle, *as much as in you lies, have peace with all men*, with all kind of men. Obedience is the first Commandment of the second Table, and that never destroys the first Table, of which the first Commandment is, *Keep thy self, that ⁴⁶⁰ is, those that belong to thee and thy house, intire and upright in the worship of the true God*, not only not to admit Idols for gods, but not to admit Idolatry in the worship of the true God.

[Exod. 20.3]

Number 5.

*Preached at St. Pauls
on Midsommer day. 1622.*

JOHN 1.8. *HE WAS NOT THAT LIGHT, BUT
WAS SENT TO BEARE WITNESSE OF THAT
LIGHT.*

Of him, who was this light, which *John Baptist* is here denied to be, I spoke out of these words, and out of this place, the first time that I ascended to it, upon the *great Epiphany*, (as the first Church used to call it) the manifestation of *Christ Jesus* in the flesh, *Christmas day*; I reserved the rest of the Text, which concernes *John Baptist* himself, and his *office*, for *this day*, in which the Church celebrates *his memory*, who, though *he were not that light*, was *sent to beare witnesse of that light*.

We shall make our parts but two, *Testem*, and *Testimonium*, the ¹⁰ *person*, and the *Office*; first, *who* the witnesse is, and then *what* he witnesseth. In the first, we shall consider first, the *dignity*, the *fitnessse* of the person, implied in the first word of this part of our Text, *but; he was not that light*; that is true, but yet he was something towards it; he was *nothing* considered with *Christ*, but he was *much* considered with any *other man*. And then we shall see his *title* to his office, *Missus est*, as he was fit in himself, so he was *sent* by him that had power to give Commission; and from these two, in which we shall determine our first part, the consideration of his *person*, we shall descend to the other, his *office*; and therein stop but upon two steps ²⁰ neither; first, *why any testimony was required to so cleare a thing as light, and such a light, that light*; and then, *what kinde of testimony*

John Baptist did give to that light. So have you the designe, and frame of our building, and the severall partitions, the roomes; passe we now to a more particular survey, and furnishing of them.

1 Part
Idoneus

Philo Jud.

The first branch of the first part, is the *Idoneus*, that he was *fit* to be a witnesse. If we should insist upon the *nobility* of his race, his father and mother, (his father a *Priest*, and his mother also descended of *Aaron*) (and, as all Nations have some notes and marks of nobility, (*Merchandize, or Arms, or Letters*) amongst the Jewes *Priesthood*)³⁰ was that, the *Priesthood* ennobled men) in all well policed States, *cæteris paribus*, if they were not otherwise defective, they have ever thought it fittest to employ persons of *good families*, and of noble extraction, as well because, in likelihood they had had the best *education*, from their parents, and the best *knowledge* of things that concerne the publicke, by having had their conversation with the best, and most intelligent persons; as also, because they have for the most part, more to lose then inferiour persons have, and therefore are likelier to be carefull and vigilant in their imployment; And againe, because they draw a better respect from those to whom they are imployed, (which is of great importance in such negotiations, to send persons acceptable to them to whom they are sent) and yet, do not lye so open to the tentations and corruptions of their Ministers, as men of *needy fortunes*, and obscure extractions do.

This fitnesse *John Baptist* had, he was of a good family and extraction. It addes to him, that as he had a *noble*, he had a *miraculous* birth; for, to be born of a *Virgin*, is but a degree more, then to be borne of a *barren woman*. A birth, which *onely of all others* the *Church* celebrates; for, though we finde the dayes of the Martyrs still called, *Natalitia Martyrum*, their *birth-dayes*, yet that is always intended of⁵⁰ the dayes of their *death*; onely in *John Baptist* it is intended literally, of his naturall birth; for, his spirituall birth, his *Martyrdome*, is remembred by another name, *Decollatio Joannis*, *John Baptists beheading*. If we should enlarge *all* concerning him, as infinitely, as infinite Authors have done, or contract all as summarily, as Christ hath done, (*Amongst those that are borne of women, there is not a greater Prophet then John the Baptist*) yet we should finde that Saint *Augustine* had done all this before, *Non est quod illi adjiciat homo, cui Deus contulit totum*, What man can adde more, where God said all, and he

Luk. 7.28

August.

hath said of *John Baptist*, *Spiritu Sancto replebitur, He shall be filled with the holy Ghost.*

[Luke 1.15]

Two things especially make a man a competent witnesse: First, that he have in himselfe *a knowledge* of the thing that he testifies; else he is an incompetent witnesse: And then, that he have a *good estimation* in others, that he be reputed an honest man; else he is an unprofitable witnesse. If he be ignorant, he sayes truth, but by chance; if he be dishonest, and say truth, it is but upon designe, and not for the truths sake; for, if those circumstances did not leade him, he would not say truth. *John Baptist* had both, knowledge and estimation.

⁷⁰ He knew, *per scientiam infusam*, by infused knowledge; as he was a Prophet; for so Christ testifies that he was. But all Prophets knew not all things; therefore he was *more then a Prophet*, which is also testified by Christ, in his behalfe. More then any former Prophet. And yet, the Prophet *Esaiah* was (even in his Prophecy) an *Evangelist*, his Prophecy of Christ was so clear, so particular, as that it was rather *Gospell*, and *History*, then Prophecy. *John Baptist* was more then *that*; for, he did not onely declare a present Christ, (in that, *Esay* may seem to come neer him) but he was *Propheta Prophetatus*, A Prophet that was prophesied of; even *Esay* himself bore witnesse of this wit-

Scientia

Matth. 11.9

Hierom

Esay 40.3

Mal. 3.1

Matth. 11.10

⁸⁰ nesse; (*A voyce cried in the wildernes, Prepare the way of the Lord.*) And the Prophet *Malachi* bore witnesse of this witnesse too, (*Behold, I will send my messenger, and he shall prepare the way before me.*) So he hath the testimony of the first and last of the Prophets; and of him too, who was the first and the last, the cause and the effect, the moving and fulfilling of all prophecy, of Christ himself, (*This is he, of whom it is written,*) and so he cites those words of *Malachi* concerning *John Baptist*. *John Baptist* then had this competency, by knowledge infused by God, declared in former Prophecies, he knew the matter, which he was to testifie. Which is ⁹⁰ so essentiall, so substantiall a circumstance in matter of testimony, in what way soever we will be witnesses to God, as that no man is a competent witnesse for God, not in his *preaching*, not in his *living*, not in his *dying*, (though he be a witnesse in the highest sense, that is, a *Martyr*) if he do not *know, upon what ground*, he sayes, or does, or suffers that, which he suffers, and does, and sayes. Howsoever he

pretend the honour of God in his testimony, yet, if the thing be *materially false*, (false in it self, though true in his opinion) or *formally false*, (true in it self, but not known to be so, to him that testifies it) both ways he is an incompetent witnesse. And this takes
¹⁰⁰ away the honour of having been witnesses for Christ, and the consolation and style of Martyrs, both from *them*, who, upon such evidence, as can give no assurance (that is, *traditions of men*) have grounded their faith in God, and from *them*, who take their light in corners, and conventicles, and not from the City set upon the top of a hill, the Church of God. Those *Roman Priests* who have given their lives, those *Separatists* which have taken a voluntary banishment, are not competent witnesses for the glory of God; for a witnesse must know; and *qui testatur de scientia, testetur de modo scientiae*, says the Law, He that will prove any thing by his knowledge, must prove how he
¹¹⁰ came by that knowledge; The *Papist* hath not the knowledge of his Doctrine from any Scripture, the *Separatist* hath not the knowledge of his Discipline from any precedent, any example in the primitive Church.

How farre then is that wretched and sinfull man, from giving any testimony or glory to Christ in his life, who never comes to the knowledge, and consideration, *why* he was sent into this life? who is so farre from doing his errand, that he knowes not what his errand was; not whether he received any errand or no. But, as though that God, who for infinite millions of ages, delighted himself in himself, and
¹²⁰ was sufficient in himself, and yet at last did bestow *six dayes labour* for the creation, and provision of *man*, as though that God, who when man was sowl'd in the lumpe, poysoned in the fountaine, withered in the roote, in the loins of *Adam*, would then ingage *his Sonne*, his beloved Sonne, his onely Sonne, to be *man*, by a temporary life, and to be *no man*, by a violent and a shamefull death, as though that God, who when he was pleased to come to a creation, might have left out *thee*, amongst *privations*, amongst *nothings*, or might have shut thee up, in the close prison, of a bare *being*, and no more, (as he hath done *earth* and *stones*) or, if he would have given thee life,
¹³⁰ might have left thee a *Toad*, or, if he would have given thee a *humane soule*, might have left thee a *heathen*, without any knowledge of God, or, if he had afforded thee a Religion, might have left thee a *Jew*, or,

though he had made thee a Christian, might have left thee a *Papist*; as though that God that hath done so much more, in breeding thee in his true Church, had done all this for *nothing*, thou passest thorough this world, like a *flash*, like a *lightning*, whose beginning or end no body knowes, like an *Ignis fatuus* in the aire, which does not onely not give light for any use, but not so much as portend or signifie any thing; and thou passest out of the world, as thy hand
¹⁴⁰ passes out of a basin of water, which may bee somewhat the fouler for thy washing in it, but retaines no other impression of thy having been there; and so does the world for thy life in it. When God placed *Adam* in the *world*, he bad him *fill it*, and *subdue* it, and *rule* it; and when he placed him in *paradise*, he bad him *dresse*, and *keepe paradise*; and when he sent his children into the over-flowing *Land of promise*, he bad them *fight*, and *destroy* the Idolaters; to every body some task, some errand for his glory; And thou comest from him, into this world, as though he had said nothing unto thee, but *Go and do as you see cause, Go, and do as you see other men do.*

[Gen. 2.15]

[Deut. 7.2]

¹⁵⁰ Thou knowest not, that is, *considerest* not, what thou wast sent to doe, what thou *shouldest have* done, but thou knowest much lesse, what thou *hast* done. The light of nature hath taught thee to *hide thy sinnes* from other men, and thou hast been so diligent in that, as that thou hast hid them from thy self, and canst not finde them in thine owne *conscience*, if at any time the Spirit of God would burne them up, or the blood of Christ Jesus wash them out; thou canst not finde them out so, as that a *Sermon* or *Sacrament* can work upon them. Perchance thou canst tell, when was the first time, or where was the first place, that thou didst commit such or such a sinne; but
¹⁶⁰ as a man can remember when he began to *spell*, but not when he began to *reade perfectly*, when he began to joyne his letters, but not when he began to write perfectly, so thou remembrest when thou wentest timorouslly and bashfully about sinne, at first, and now perchance art ashamed of that shamefastnesse, and sorry thou beganst no sooner. Poore bankrupt! that hast sinned out thy soule so profusely, so lavishly, that thou darest not cast up thine accounts, thou darest not aske thy selfe whether thou have any soule left; how farre art thou, from giving any testimony to Christ, that darest not testifie to thy selfe, nor heare thy conscience take knowledge of thy trans-

¹⁷⁰ gressions, but haddest rather sleepe out thy daies, or *drinke* out thy daies, then leave one minute for *compunction* to lay hold on; and doest not sinne alwaies for the love of that sinne, but for feare of a *holy sorrow*, if thou shouldest not fill up thy time, with that sinne.

[Gal. 6.7]

God cannot be mocked, saith the Apostle, nor God cannot be *blinded*.

He seeth all the way, and at *thy last gaspe*, he will make thee see too, through the multiplying Glasse, the Spectacle of *Desperation*. Canst thou hope that that God, that seeth this darke Earth through all the vaults and arches of the severall spheares of Heaven, that seeth thy body through all thy stone walls, and seeth thy soul through that

¹⁸⁰ which is darker then all those, thy corrupt flesh, canst thou hope that that God can be blinded with drawing a curtain between thy sinne and him? when he is all eye, canst thou hope to put out that eye, with putting out a candle? when he hath planted legions of Angels about thee, canst thou hope that thou hast taken away all *Intelligence*, if thou have corrupted, or silenced, or sent away a servant? O bestow as much labour, as thou hast done, to finde corners for sin, to finde out those sinnes, in those corners where thou hast hid them. As Princes give pardons by their own hands, but send Judges to execute Justice, come to him for mercy in the acknowledgement of thy sinnes,

[Psa. 9.12]

¹⁹⁰ and stay not till his Justice come to thee, *when he makes inquisition for blood*; and doe not think, that if thou feel now at this present a

[Psa. 22.14]

little tendernes in thy heart, a little melting in thy bowels, a little dew in thine eyes, that if thou beest come to know, that thou art a sinner, thou dost therefore presently know thy sinnes. Thou wouldest have so much tendernes, so much compassion, if thou knewest that he that sits next thee, were in this danger of Gods heavy indignation; thou wouldest commiserate thy neighbours wretched condition so much. But proceed with thy self further, bring this dawning and breake of day to a full light, and this little sparke to a perfect acknowl-

²⁰⁰ edgement of thy sinnes. Go home, with this spark of Gods Spirit in you, and there looke upon your *Rentalls*, and know your oppressions, and extorsions; looke upon your *shop-bookes*, and know your deceits and falsifications; looke upon your *ward-robes*, and know your excesses; looke upon your *childrens faces*, and know your fornications. Till then, till you come to this scrutiny, this survey, this sifting of the Conscience, if we should cry *peace, peace*, yet there were no peace.

[Jer. 6.14]

The Oratour said, *Imposuimus populo, & Oratores visi sumus*; we have couensed the people, and they say we are excellent Oratours, powerfull, well spoken men. We might flatter you, and you would
²¹⁰ say, we were sweet, and smooth, and comfortable *Preachers*, and we might perish together. But if you study your selves, reade your own History, if you get to the knowledge of your errand hither, and the ill discharge of those duties here, the sorrow and compunction which will grow from thence, is a faire degree of *Martyrdome*, (for as Saint Hierome saith of *Chastitie*, *Habet pudicitia servata, Martyrium suum*, Chastity preserved is a continuall Martyrdome, so a true remorse, if that Chastity have not been preserved, and likewise a true remorse for every sinne, is a fair degree of Martyrdome) for, *Martyr* is *Testis*, the very name of *Martyr* signifieth a *Witnessse*; and this Martyrdome,
²²⁰ this true remorse and sorrow, and compunction for your sinnes, becomes a witnesse to your selves of your reconciliation to God in the merits of Christ Jesus. But we may carry this branch no further, that *John Baptist* being a competent witnesse therefore, because he understood the matter hee testified, before wee can bee competent witnesses to our owne Consciences, of our Reconciliation to God, wee must understand, (and therefore search into our particular sinnes) not onely that wee are sinners, but sinners in such and such kindes, such times, such places, such persons; for that Soule, that is content to rest in *generalls*, would but deceive it selfe. *John Baptists* other qualifica-
²³⁰ tion was, That as hee knew the matter about which hee was sent, so hee had, (and justly) a good *estimation* amongst them, to whom hee was employed.

If I have a prejudice against a Man, and suspect his *honestie*, I shall not bee much moved with his *Testimony*. The Devill testified for Christ; but, if there were no other *Testimony* but his, I should demurre upon the *Gospell*, I should not die for that *Faith*. *John Baptist* was a credible person amongst them. How was this credit acquired? It seemeth *John Baptist* did no *Miracles*; Whether hee did or no, is not a cleare Case; for that which is said, (*John Baptist did no miracles*) is not said by the Evangelist himselfe; Saint *John* doeth not say, that *John Baptist* did no miracles; but those that resorted to him at that place, said that (*He doth no miracles*) for they had seene none. If he did none, that reason may be good enough, *ne*

Hierom

Integritas

John 10.41

Aquin.

æqualis Christo putaretur, it was forborne in him, that he might appeare to be inferiour to Christ. And, if he did none, yet there were miracles done by him. The *reformation* of manners, and bringing men to *repentance*, is a miracle. It is a lesse miracle to raise a man from a *sick bed*, then to hold a man from a *wanton bed*, a litentious bed; lesse to overcome and quench his fever, then to quench his lust.

[Gen. 39.8]

²⁵⁰ *Joseph* that refused his *mistris* was a greater *miracle* then *Lazarus* raised from the dead. Of these resurrections, we have divers examples, *Josephs* case, (I thinke) is singular. There were miracles done so, by

[Luke 1.41]

August.

John Baptist preaching to others; and there were miracles done *upon himself*; and early; for, his *springing in his mothers womb*, was a miracle; and a miracle done for others: *Significatio rei à majoribus cognoscendæ, non à minori cognitæ*; The child catechized his elders,

in that which himselfe understood not; that is, the presence of his Saviour, in the virgin then present. *Divinitus in infante, non humanitus ab infante*, says the same Father; it was not a joy, and exulta-

²⁶⁰ tion in the child, but an institution, an instruction to the rest. But miracle or no miracle is not our issue; witnesses for Christ, require not *wonder*, but *belief*; we pretend not *miracles*, but propose Gods ordinary meanes; we look not for *Admiration*, but *Assent*. And therefore forebear your acclamations and expectations of *wonderfull good preachers*, and *admirable good Sermons*. It was enough for *John Baptist* that even they confessed, that *all that he said was true*. Content thy selfe with *truths*, evident *truths*, fundamentall *truths*, let matter of *wonder* and admiration alone.

Austeritas

[John 10.41]

He was a witnesse competent to them for his *truth*, and *integrity*,

²⁷⁰ and he was so also for the outward *holinesse of his life*; which, for the present, we consider onely in the strict and austere manner of living, that he embraced. For, certainly, he that uses no *fasting*, no *discipline*, no *mortification*, exposes himselfe to many dangers in himselfe, and to a cheape and vulgar estimation amongst others. *Caro mea jumentum meum*, says *S. Augustine*, my body is the horse I ride;

iter ago in Jerusalem, my business lies at *Jerusalem*; thither I should ride; *De via conatur excutere*, my horse over pampered casts me upon the way, or carries me out of the way; *non cohibebo jejunio*, says he; must not that be my way, to bring him to a gentler riding, and more

²⁸⁰ command, by lessening his proportions of provender? *S. Augustine*

meanes the same that S. Paul preached, *I beat down my body*, says he, and *bring it in subjection*; And, (as Paulinus readeas that place) *Lividum reddo, I make my body blacke and blue; white and red* were not Saint Pauls colours. Saint Paul was at this time departed, (in outward profession) from the sect of the Pharisees, and from their ostentations of doing their disciplines in the sight and for the praise of man; but yet, being become a Christian he left not his *austerity*; And it is possible for us, to leave the *leaven of the Papist*, the opinion of *merit*, and *supererogation*, and doing more then we are bound to
²⁹⁰ doe in the ways of godlinesse, and yet nourish our soules, with that wholesome bread of taming our bodies. Saint Paul had his *Disciplines*, his *mortifications*; he tells us so, but he does not tell us *what* they were; lest perchance a reverence to his person, and example, might binde mis-devout men, to doe punctually as Saint Paul did. The same *Rule* cannot serve all; but the same *Reason* may.

The institution of *friars* under a certain *Rule*, that all of them, just at this time, shall doe just thus, cannot be a rule of *Justice*; but the generall doctrine, that every body needs at some times, some helps, some meanes, is certainly true. Shall the riotous, the voluptuous man
³⁰⁰ stay till this something bee a *surfet* or a *fever*? 'Tis true, this surfet and this fever, will subdue the body, but then thou doest it not. Shall a *lascivious* wanton stay, till a *consumption*, or such contagious diseases as shall make him unsociable, and so, unable to exercise his sinne, subdue his body? These can doe it, but this is *Perimere, non subjugare*, not a subduing of the body alone, but a destroying of body and soule together. Moderate disciplines subdue the body, as under the government of a *King*, a father of his people, that governs them by a law. But when the body comes to bee subdued, by paines, and anguish, and loathsome diseases, this becomes a *tyranny*, a *conquest*; and
³¹⁰ he that comes in by conquest, imposes what lawes hee will; so that these subduings of the body brought in by sinne, may worke in us, an obdurbation; we shall feel them, but not discerne the hand of God in them; or, if his hand, yet not his hand to that purpose, to relieve us, but to seale our condemnation to us. Beloved, because our Adversaries of the *Romane heresie*, have erroneously made a pattern for their *Eremiticall* and *Monasticall* life in *John Baptist*, and coloured their *idlenessse*, by his *example*; some of the *Reformation* have bent a little

Ambrose

too far the other way, and denied, that there was any such austerity in the life of St. *John*, as is ordinarily conceived: They say that his ³²⁰ conversation in the *Desert*, may well be understood to have been but a withdrawing of himself from publique and civill businesses, home to his fathers house; for, his father dwelt in that *Desert*, and thither went *Mary* to salute *Elizabeth*. And *Joab* had his house in this *Desert*; and in this *Desert* are reckoned five or sixe good Townes; so that indeed it was no such savage solitude as they fancie. But yet, for a Sonne of such Parents, an onely Sonne, a Sonne so miraculously afforded them, to passe on with that apparell, and that diet, is certainly remarkable, and an evidence of an extraordinary austerity, and an argument of an extraordinary sanctity.

³³⁰ Especially to the Jewes it was so; amongst them this austerity of life, and abstaining from those things which other men imbraced, procured ordinarily a great estimation; We know that amongst them, the *Essæi* a severe Sect, had a high reverence: They did not *marry*, they did not eat *flesh*, they did not ease themselves by *servants*, but did all their own work, they used no *proprietie*, they possessed nothing, called nothing *their own*; *Vicatim habitant, & urbes fugiunt*, they forsake all great Townes, and dwell in Villages; And yet, flying the world, they drew the world so much after them, as that it is noted with wonder, *per sæculorum Milia gens æterna, in qua nemo*

³⁴⁰ *nascitur*; that there was an eternall Nation, that had lasted many Generations, and yet never any borne amongst them; *Jam fæcunda illis aliorum vite pænitentia*, for, every man that was crossed or wearied in his owne course of life, applied himselfe to their Sect and manner of living, as the onely way to Heaven. And *Josephus* writing his owne life and forwardnesse, and pregnancy, (perchance a little too favourably or gloriously in his owne behalfe, to be throughly beleived; for he saith, that when he was but fourteen yeares old, the greatest Doctours of the Law, came to him to learne *penitiorem sensum juris*, the secretest Mysteries of the Law; and *their Law*, was ³⁵⁰ *Divinity*) thought himselfe unperfect till he had spent some time, in the strictnesse of all the three Sects of the Jewes; and after he had done all that, he spent three yeares more, with one *Bannus* an *Ermit*, who lived in the wildernesse, upon herbs and roots. *John Baptists* austerity of life made him a competent and credible witnesse to them, who had such austertie in estimation.

Luc. 1.40

1 Reg. 2.34

Ios. 15.61

Joseph.

Philo. Iud.

Plini.

And truely, hee that will any way bee a witnesse for Christ, that is, glorifie him, hee must endevour, even by this *outward holinesse of life*, to bee acceptable to good men. *Vox Populi, vox Dei*, the generall voyce is seldome false; so also *Oculi populi, Oculi Dei*, In this ³⁶⁰ case-God looketh upon man, as man doth; *Singuli decipi & decipere possunt*, One man may deceive another, and be deceived by another; *Nemo omnes, neminem omnes fecellerunt*, no man ever deceived all the world, nor did all the world ever joyn to deceive one man. The generall opinion, the generall voyce, is for the most part, good evidence, with, or against a man. Every one of us is ashamed of the prayse and attestation of one, whom all the world besides, taketh to be dishonest; so, will Christ be ashamed of that witnesse, that seeketh not the good opinion of good men.

When I see a *Jesuit* solicite the chastity of a daughter of the house, ³⁷⁰ where he is harbour'd, and after knowledge taken by the Parents, upon her complaint, excuse it with saying, that he did it but to trie her, and to be the better assured of her religious constancy; when I see a *Jesuit* conceale and foment a *powder Treason*, and say he had it but in *Confession*, and then see these men to proclaim themselves to be *Martyrs*, witnesses for Christ in the highest degree; I say still, the Devill may be a witnesse, but I ground not my Faith upon that Testimony: A competent witnesse must be an honest man. This competency *John Baptist* had, the good opinion of good men; And then, he had the seale of all, *Missus est*, he had his Commission, *He was sent to beare witness of that Light.*

Though this word *Missus est*, He was sent, be not literally in the Text here, yet it is necessarily implied, and therefore providently supplyed by the *Translatours* in this verse, and before in the sixt verse, it is literally expressed, *There was a man sent from God, whose name was John*. The Law saith, concerning witnesses, *Qui se ingerunt & offerunt, suspecti habentur*, those that offer their testimony before they be cited, are suspicious witnesses. Therefore they must have a *Mission*, a sending. For, by Saint Pauls rule, *How can they preach except they be sent?* Preach they may; but *how?* with what successe, ³⁹⁰ what effect, what blessing? So that the good successe of *John Baptists* preaching, (For, the multitudes, *The people came to him*; and not light people carried about with every winde of rumour and noise,

Missus

Rom. 10.15

Luc. 3.7

Matt. 3.7

Luc. 3.12

14

Ier. 23.21

and noveltie, but *Pharises*, and *Sadduces*, men of learning, of sadness and gravity; and not onely *Scholars* affected with subtilities, but, *Publicans* too, men intent upon the world; and other men, whose very profession submits them to many occasions of departing from the strict rules, which regularly binde other men, and therefore may be in some things, (which tast of injustice) more excusable then other men; *The souldiers likewise came to him, and said, What shall we doe?*) This his working upon all sorts of men, the blessing that accompanied his labours, was a subsequent argument of his Mission, that he was sent by God. God himself argues against them, that were not sent, so, *They were not sent, for they have done no good. I have not sent those Prophets*, saith the Lord, *yet they ran, I have not spoken to them, and yet they prophesied; but, if they had stood in my counsell, then they should have turned the people from their evill wayes, and from the wickednesse of their inventions.* This note God layes upon them, to whom he affords this *vocation* of his *internall Spirit*, that though others which come without any calling, may gather men in corners, and in *Conventicles*, and work upon their affections and passions, to singularity, to schisme, to sedition: and though others which come with an outward, and ordinary calling onely, may advance their own *Fortunes*, and increase their estimation, and draw their *Auditory* to an outward reverence of their Persons, and to a delight in hearing them rather then other men, yet, those onely who have a true *inward Calling* from the Spirit, *shall turn the people from their evill wayes, and from the wickednesse of their inventions.* To such mens planting and watering God gives an increase; when as others which come to *declame*, and not to *preach*, and to vent their own gifts, or the purposes of great men for their gifts, have onely a proportionable reward, winde for winde, *Acclamation* for *Declamation*, popular praise for popular eloquence: for, if they doe not truly *believe themselves*, why should they looke that others should believe them? *Qui loquitur ad cor, loquatur ex corde*; he that will speake to the heart of another, must finde that that he saith in his own heart first.

Whether the *Mission of the Church of Rome* of Priests and Jesuites hither, be sufficient to satisfie their consciences who are so sent, and sent (in intendment of the Law) to inevitable losse of life here, hath

⁴³⁰ been laboriously enough debated, and safely enough concluded, that such a Mission cannot satisfie a rectified conscience. What are they sent for? To defend the Immunities of the Church: that is, to take away the inherent right of the Crown, the *supremacy* of the King: What seconds them? what assures them? That which is their generall Tenent, that into what place so ever the Pope may send *Priests*, he may send *Armies* for the security of those Priests; and (as another expresses it) in all Cases, where the Pope may injoyne any thing, he may lawfully proceed by way of *Warre* against any that hinder the execution thereof. That these *Missions* from the *Bishop of Rome* are

⁴⁴⁰ unlawfull, is safely enough concluded, *A priori*, in the very nature of the commandement and Mission. For, it is to a place, in which he that sends hath no power, for it is into the Dominions of another absolute King; and it is of Persons, in whom he hath no interest, for they are the subjects of another Prince; and my neighbours setting his mark upon my sheep, doth not make my sheep his. Now, beloved, if that which they cannot make lawfull *A priori*, in the Nature of the thing, you will make lawfull in their behalf, *A posteriori*, in the effect and working thereof; that is, if when these men are thus sent hither, you will run after them to their *Masses*, though you pretend it be but

⁴⁵⁰ to meet company, and to see who comes, and to hear a *Church-Comedy*; if, though you abstain your self, you will lend them a *wife*, or a *childe*, or a *servant* to be present there, *A posteriori*, by this effect, by this their working upon you, you justifie their unjust Mission, and make them thinke their sending and coming lawfull. So also, (to return to our former consideration) *If you depart not from your evill wayes, and from the wickednesse of your own inventions*: If for all our preaching you proceed in your sinnes, you will make us afraid, that our Mission, our Calling is not warrantable, for thereby you take away that consolation, which is one seale of our Mission,

⁴⁶⁰ when we see a good effect of our preaching in your lives. It lyes much in you, to convince them, and to establish us, by that way, which is Gods own way of arguing, *à posteriori*, by the effect, by our working upon you. If you say *God is God*, we are sent; if you say *Baal is God*, you justifie their sending. *Missus est, John Baptist* was sent, it appeared by the *effect* of his preaching; but it appeares too, by a divers and manifold *citation*, which he had *received*, upon some of which, there may be good use to insist a little.

Baroni.

Alvarez

Azor.

Maynardus

vide Pseudo-

Mart. f. 154

[1 Kings
18.21]

1 Citation

First, he was *cited, called*, before he *was* at all; and called againe before he was *borne*; called a third time, out of the *desert*, into the ⁴⁷⁰ *world*; and called lastly out of *this world into the next*; and by all these callings, these citations, these missions, he was a competent witnesse. His first citation was before he was any thing, before his *conception*. Out of the dead embers of *Zacharies* aged loins, and *Elizabeths* double obstacle, *age* and *barrennesse*, when it was almost as great a worke as a *creation*, to produce a childe out of the corners, and inwardest bowels of all *possibility*, and with so many degrees of *improbability*, as that *Zachary*, who is said to have been *just before God, and to have walked in all his commandments without reproofe*, and had, without doubt, often considered the like promise of such a ⁴⁸⁰ childe, made and performed to *Abraham*, was yet incredulous of it, and asked, *how he should know it*. Out of this nothing, or nothing naturally disposed to be such a thing, a childe, did God excite, and cite this *John Baptist* to beare witnesse of this light, and so made the

[Luke 1.20]

sonne of him, who, for his incredulity, was strooke with *dumbnesse, all voyce*. And, beloved, such a citation as this, when thou wast meerly *nothing*, hast *thou* had too, to beare witnesse of this light, that is, to do something for the glory of God. When thy *free will* is as impotent and as dead as *Zacharies* loins, when thou art under *Elizabeths* double obstacle of *age* and *barrennesse*, (*barrennesse* in good works, *age* in ⁴⁹⁰ ill) then when thou thinkest not of *God*, then when thou art walking for ayre, or sitting at a feast, or slumbring in a bed, God opens these doors, he rings a bell, he shewes thee an example in the concourse of people hither, and here, he sets up a man, to present the prayer of the Congregation to him, and to deliver his messages to them; and whether *curiosity, or custome, or company*, or a loathnesse to incurre the *penalties* of Lawes, or the *censures* and observations of neighbours, bring thee hither, though thou hadst nothing to do with *God*, in comming hither, God hath something to do with thee, now thou art here, and even this is a *citation, a calling*, by being personally here ⁵⁰⁰ at these exercises of Religion, thou art some kinde of witnesse of this light. For, in how many places of the world hath Christ yet never opened such doors for his ordinary service, in all these 1600. yeers? And in how many places hath he shut up these doors, of his true worship, within these *three or foure yeers?* *Quod citaris huc, That*

thou art brought *hither*, within distance of his voyce, within reach of his food, *intra sphæram Activitatis*, within the spheare and latitude of his ordinary working, that is, into his house, into his *Church*, this is a citation, a calling, answerable to *John Baptists* first calling, from his fathers dead loins, and his mothers barren wombe; and his second

⁵¹⁰ citation was before he was borne, in his mothers wombe.

When *Mary* came to visit *Elizabeth*, the childe sprang in her belly, as soone as *Maries* voice sounded in her eares. And though naturally, upon excesse of *joy* in the mother, the childe may spring in her; yet the Evangelist meanes to tell an extraordinary and supernaturall thing; and whether it were an *anticipation of reason* in the childe, (some of the *Fathers* think so, though *St. Augustine* do not, that the childe *understood* what he did) or that this were a fulfilling of that prophecy, *That he should be filled with the holy Ghost from his mothers wombe*, all agree that this was an exciting of him to this ⁵²⁰ attestation of his Saviours presence, whether he had any sense of it, or no. *Exultatio significat*, sayes *St. Augustine*, This springing declared, that his mother, whose forerunner that childe should be, was come. And so both *Origen*, and *St. Cyrill*, refer that commendation, which our Saviour gives him, *Inter natos Mulierum, Among those that were born of women, there was not a greater Prophet*; that is, none that prophetyed before he was borne, but *he*. And such a citation, beloved, thou mayest have, in this place, and at this time. A man may upon the hearing of something that strikes him, that affects him, feel this *springing*, this exultation, this melting, and colliquation of ⁵³⁰ the inwardest bowels of his soule; a new affection, a new passion, beyond the joy ordinarily conceived upon earthly happinesses; which, though no *naturall Philosopher* can call it by a name, no *Anatomist* assigne the place where it lyes, yet I doubt not, through Christ Jesus, but that many of you who are here now, feele it, and understand it this minute. *Citaris huc*, thou wast cited to come hither, whether by a collaterall, and oblique, and occasionall motion, or otherwise, hither God hath brought thee, and *Citaris hic*, here thou art cited to come neerer to him. Now both these citations were before *John Baptist* was borne; both these affections, to come to this place, and to be ⁵⁴⁰ affected with a delight here, may be before thy regeneration, which is thy spirituall birth; a man is not borne, not borne againe, because

² Citation
Luke 1.41

Verse 15

August.
Origen
Cyrill

he is at Church, nor because he likes the Sermon. *John Baptist* had, and thou must have a third citation; which was in him, *from the desert into the publique*, into the *world*, from *contemplation* to *practice*.

3 Citation

Luke 3.2

This was that mission, that citation, which most properly belongs to this Text, when the *word* came to the *voynce*, (*The word of God came to John in the wildernes, and he came into all the Countrey preaching the Baptisme of repentance.*) To that we must come, to *practise*.

For, in this respect, an *Vniversity* is but a *wildernes*, though we

⁵⁵⁰ gather our learning there, our private meditation is but a *wildernes*, though we contemplate God there, nay our *being here*, is but a *wildernes*, though we serve God here, if our service end so, if we

do not proceed to *action*, and glorifie God in the *publique*. And therefore *Citaris huc*, thou art cited *hither*, here thou must be, and *Citaris hic*, thou art cited *here*, to lay hold upon that grace which God offers in his *Ordinance*; and *Citaris hinc*, thou art cited *from hence*, to embrace a *calling* in the *world*. He that undertakes no course, no

vocation, he is no part, no member, no limbe of the body of this

world; no eye, to give light to others; no eare to receive profit by

⁵⁶⁰ others. If he think it enough to be excrementall *nayles*, to scratch and gripe others by his *lazy usury*, and *extortion*, or excrementall *hayre*, made onely for *ornament*, or *delight* of others, by his *wit*, or *mirth*, or *delightfull conversation*, these men have not yet felt this third citation, by which they are called to glorifie God, and so to

witnesse for him, in such *publique actions*, as Gods cause for the

present requires, and comports with their *calling*.

4 Citation

And then *John Baptist* had a fourth citation to bear *witnesse* for Christ, by laying down his life for the *Truth*; and this was that that made him a *witnesse*, in the highest sense, a *Martyr*. God hath not

⁵⁷⁰ served this citation upon us, nor doth he threaten us, with any approches towards it, in the feare of *persecution* for religion. But remember that *John Baptists Martyrdome*, was not for the *fundamentall rock*, the body of the *Christian religion*, but for a *morall truth*,

for matter of *manners*. A man may be bound to suffer much, for a

lesse matter then the *utter overthrow*, of the whole frame and body

of religion. But leaving this consideration, for what causes a man is

bound to lay downe his life, consider we now, but this, that a man

lays downe his life for Christ, and beares *witnesse* of him, even in

death, when he prefers Christ before this world, when he *desires to*
⁵⁸⁰ *be dissolved, and be with him*, and obeys cheerefully that citation, by the hand of death, whensoever it comes; and that citation must certainly be served upon you all; whether this night in your beds, or this hour, at the doore, no man knowes. You who were cited *hither*, to *heare*, and cited *here*, to *consider*, and cited *hence*, to *worke* in a *calling* in the world, must be cited *from thence* too, from the face to the bosome of the earth, from treading upon other mens, to a lying downe in your owne graves. And yet that is not your last citation, there is a fifth.

[Phil. 1.23]

In the grave, *John Baptist* does, and we must attend a *fifth citation*,
⁵⁹⁰ from the grave to a *Judgement*. The first citation hither to Church, was served by *Example* of other men, you saw them come, and came. The second citation, here, in the Church, was served by the *Preacher*, you heard him and beleaved. The third, from hence, is served by *the Law*, and by the *Magistrate*, they binde you to embrace a *profession*, and a *calling*, and you do so. The fourth, which is from thence, from this, to the next world, is served by *nature in death*, he touches you, and you sinke. This *fifth to Judgement* shall be by *an Angell*, by an Archangell, by the Lord himself, *The Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voyce of the Archangell*,

5 Citation

⁶⁰⁰ *and with the Trump of God, and the dead in Christ shall rise*. This citation is not served by a *bell*, that tolls to bring you hither; not by a *man* that speaks to instruct you here; not by a *law*, that compells you to live orderly in the world; not by a *bell*, that rings out to lay thee in thy grave; but by the *great shout of the Lord descending from heaven, with the voyce of the Archangel, and with the Trump of God, to raise the dead in Christ*. It is not the *Aperiare fores*, That the Levites have charge to open these doores every day to you, that you may come in, (that is your first citation, *hither*) it is not the *Domine labia mea aperies*, That God opens our mouth, the mouth of the
1 Thess.
4.16
⁶¹⁰ *Preacher*, to worke upon you, (that is your second citation, *here*,) it is not that *aperuimus saccos*, The opening of your sack of Corne, and finding that, and your money too, that is, your trading in this world, in a *calling*, (that is your third citation from *hence*) nor it is not the *Aperuit terra os suum*, That the earth opens her mouth, and swallowes all in the grave, (that is your fourth citation from *thence*,)
1 Chron.
9.27
Psal. 51.15

Gen. 43.21

Num. 16.30

Mat. 27.52

Act. 7.56

Apoc. 10.6

Dan. 7.9

it is none of these *Apertions*, these openings; but it is the *Aperta monumenta*, The grave it self shall be open againe; and *Aperti cœli*, The heavens shall be open, and I shall see the Sonne of man, the Sonne of God, and not see him at that distance, that *Stephen* saw him
 620 there, but see him, and sit down with him. I shall rise from the dead, from the darke station, from the prostration, from the prosternation of death, and never misse the sunne, which shall then be put out, for I shall see the Sonne of God, the Sunne of glory, and shine my self, as that sunne shines. I shall rise from the grave, and never misse this City, which shall be no where, for I shall see the City of God, the new *Jerusalem*. I shall looke up, and never wonder when it will be day, for, the Angell will tell me that *time shall be no more*, and I shall see, and see cheerefully that last day, the day of judgement, which shall have no *night*, never end, and be united to the *Antient of 630 dayes*, to God himselfe, who had no *morning*, never began. There I shall beare witnesse for Christ, in ascribing the salvation of the whole world, *to him that sits upon the Throne, and to the Lamb*, and Christ shall bear witnesse for me, in ascribing his righteousnesse unto me, and in delivering me into his Fathers hands, with the same tendernessee, as he delivered up his owne soule, and in making me, who am a greater sinner, then they who crucified him on earth for me, as innocent, and as righteous as his glorious selfe, in the Kingdome of heaven. And these occasions of advancing your devotion, and edification, [arise] from these two branches of this part, first, the
 640 *fitnesse of John Baptist* to be sent, and then his *actuall sending*, by so divers callings, and *citations* in him, appliable, as you have seene, to us. More will be ministred, in due time, out of the last part, and the two branches of that; first, *why* this light required *any* witnesse, and then, *what* witnesse *John Baptist* gave to this light. But those, because they leade us not to the celebration of any particular *Festivall*, (as these two former parts have done, to *Christmas* and *Midsommer*) I may have leave to present to you at any other time. At this time let us onely beg of God a blessing upon this that hath been said &c.

Number 6.

*Preached at Hanworth, to my Lord of
Carlile, and his company, being the Earles of
Northumberland, and Buckingham, &c.*

Aug. 25. 1622.

**JOB 36.25. EVERY MAN MAY SEE IT, MAN MAY
BEHOLD IT AFAR OFF.**

THE WORDS are the words of *Elihu*; *Elihu* was one of *Jobs* friends, and a meer *naturall* man: a man not captivated, not fettered, not enthralled, in any *particular forme* of *Religion*, as the *Jewes* were; a man not macerated with the *feare of God*; not infatuated with any preconceptions, which *Nurses*, or *Godfathers*, or *Parents*, or *Church*, or *State* had infused into him; not dejected, not suppled, not matured, not entredred, with *crosses* in this world, and so made apt to receive any impressions, or follow any *opinions* of *other men*, a meer *naturall man*; and in the meer use of meer *naturall* ¹⁰ *reason*, this man sayes of *God*, in his works, *Every man may see it, Man may behold it afar off*. It is the word of a *naturall man*; and the *holy Ghost* having canonized it, sanctified it, by inserting it into the booke of *God*, it is the word of *God* too. *Saint Paul* cites sometimes the words of *secular Poets*, and approves them; and then the words of those Poets, become the word of *God*; *Elihu* speakes, a *naturall man*, and *God* speaks, in *canonizing* his words; and therefore when we speake to *godly* men, we are sure to be believed, for *God* sayes it; if we were to speake to *naturall* men onely, we might be believed, for *Elihu*, a *naturall man*, and *wise in his generation*, sayes it, that for ²⁰ *God* in his works, *Every man may see it, man may behold it afar off*.

[Luke 16.8]

Divisio

Psal. 18.11

104.2

Be pleased to admit, and charge your memories with this distribution of the words; Let the parts be but two, so you will be pleased to stoop, and gather, or at least to open your hands to receive, some more (I must not say flowers, for things of sweetnesse, and of delight grow not in my ground) but *simples* rather, and *medicinall herbs*; of which as there enter many into good *cordials*, so in this supreme cordiall, of bringing God into the eyes of man, that *every man may see it, men may behold it afar off*, there must necessarily arise many particulars to your consideration. I threaten you but with two parts; ³⁰ no farther tediousnesse; but I aske roome for divers branches; I can promise no more shortnesse. The first part is a discovery, a manifestation of God to man; though that be undeniably true, *Posuit tenebras latibulum, God hath made darknesse his secret place*, yet it is as true, which proceeds from the same mouth, and the same pen, *Amictus tanquam pallio, God covers himselfe with light as with a garment*, he will be seene through his *works*: As we shall stand naked to one another, and not be ashamed of our *scars*, or *morpheus*, in the sight of God, so God stands naked to the eyes of man, and is not ashamed of that humiliation, *Every man may see it, man may behold it afar off*. ⁴⁰ This proposition, this discovery, will be the first part; and the other will be a tacite answer, to a likely objection, is not God *far off*, and can man see at that distance? yes, he may. *Man may behold that afar off. Every man may see it, man may behold it afar off.*

God is the subject of both parts; *God alone*; one God. But in both parts there is a *Trinity* too; three branches in each part; for in each, there is an *object*, something to be apprehended; there is a *meanes* of apprehending it, it is to *be seene*; there is a *person* enabled to see it, *Every man may see it, man may behold it afar off*. But these three are not alike in each part; for in the first, that *object* is determined, ⁵⁰ limited; it is *illud*; it; God in his *works*. In the second, there is no object limited, for it is not *illud*, but there is more left to be seene; not only *God* in his *works*, as here below, but *God* in his *glory* above; *Man may behold*, but he does not offer to tell us *what*; there is an object, but another object. In the second there is a difference too, in the *meanes* of apprehending: It is but *Casah* in the first, it is *Iabbit* in the second; in that, *every man may see*, in the other, *man may behold*. And in the third, there is also a difference, the man, that may

see God, is *Adam*; *Adam* is a man, made of *earth*, the weakest man, even in *nature* may see God; but the man that must behold afar off,
⁶⁰ is *Enoch*, and *Enoch* is *homo æger*, a miserable man, a man that hath tasted affliction, and calamity, for that man lookest after God in the next world, and as he feeles God with a *rod* in his hand here, so he beholdes God with a *crown* in his hand there. And of those sticks of sweet wood, of those drops of sweet gums, shall we make up this present sacrifice.

In our first part, the manifestation of God to man, the first branch is the object, the *limited* object, *illud, Every man may see it*; what is that? That which was proposed in the verse immediately before, *Remember that thou magnifie his worke which men behold*; First,
⁷⁰ it is a *worke*, and therefore it is *made*, it hath an *author*, a *creator*; and then it is *his worke*, the worke of God, and therefore manifests him. It is a worke, a deliberate, not a casuall matter, this frame, this *world*. It is a *worke*, it was begun, and made up, not an eternall matter, this frame, this world. *Epiphanius* sayes well, *Omnis error à cæcitate ad vanitatem*; that's the progresse of error; every error begins in *blindnesse*, and ignorance, but proceeds, and ends, in *absurdity*, in *frivolousnesse*. If men had not put out the light of *nature*, they might discerne a creation in the world, that that was made, it is a worke; but when they do put out that light, and deny a *creation*, into what
⁸⁰ frivolous opinions they scatter themselves; what contradictory things, men that seeme constant, say; what childish, what ridiculous things, men that seeme grave, and sober *fathers in Philosophy*, say of this world? when they have said all, this one thing will destroy all, if the world be eternall, it is *God*; for whatsoever had no beginning, whatsoever needed nothing to give it a beeing, whatsoever was always of it selfe, is God. So that to build up their opinions in one part, they destroy it in another; and to overthrow our *Hall*, they build up our *Chappell*; by denying that the world was made, they imply, they confesse a *God*; for if it had no *Creator*, it is no *Creature*, it is *God*;
⁹⁰ so that they lose more then they gaine, and they seek *damnation*, unthriftily, and perish prodigally; they deny the *Creation*, lest by the *Creation*, we should prove *God*, and their very deniall of a Creation, their making of the world *eternall*, constitutes it to be *God*. They deny *any God*, and then make a worse *God*.

1 Part

Illud

Opus

Epiph.

Opus ejus

This world then is a *work*, a limited, a determined, a circumscribed work; and it is *Opus ejus, his work*, says *Elihu* there. But whose? Will you lay hold upon that? upon that, that *Elihu* onely says, *Remember his work*, but names none? But two verses before, (with which this verse hath connexion) he does name *God*. But let the

¹⁰⁰ work be whose it will, whosoever be this *He*, this *He* must be *God*, whosoever gave the first beeing to *Creatures*, must be the *Creator*.

If you will thinke, that *Chance* did it, and fortune, then *fortune* must be your *God*; and *destiny* must be your *God*, if you thinke *destiny* did it; and therefore you were as good attribute it to the *right God*, for a *God* it must have; if it be a *work*, it was *made*, if it be a *Creature*, there is a *Creator*; and if it be *his work*, that *He*, must be *God*, and there are no more Gods, but *one*. Every man hath a delight, and complacency in *knowledge*, and is ashamed of *ignorance*, even in

Seneca

booklearning: a man would have a *Library pro supellectile*; even for

¹¹⁰ a part of furniture, a man would read for *Ornament*: His house is not well furnished, he is not well furnished, without booke. Many a man, who lets the *Bible* dust, and rust, because the *Bible* hath a kinde of majesty, and prerogative, and command over a man, it will not be jested withall, it will not be disputed against, a man can very hardly devest the reverence, that appertaines to *that book*, and therefore he had rather deale with his *fellowes*, more *humane Authors*, that will hear *reason*, and not binde his *faith*; many a man can let the *Fathers* stand, because they write out of a pious credulity, and such anticipations, and preconceptions, as the *Bible* hath submitted them

¹²⁰ under, and captivated them to; But if thou let the *Bible*, and *Fathers* alone, and yet *love bookes*, what book (what kinde of book) canst thou take into thy hand, that proves not this world to be *Opus*, a *work*, *made*, and *Opus ejus, his work* made by *him*, by *God*? Dost thou love learning, as it is expounded, dilated, by *Orators*? The

Cicero

Father of *Orators* testifies, *Nihil tam perspicuum*, there is nothing so evident, as that there is a soveraigne power, that made, and governes all. Dost thou love learning, as it is contracted, brought to a quintessence, wrought to a spirit, by *Philosophers*? the eldest of all

Trismeg.

them in that whole book, *Quod Deus latens, simul & patens est*, testifies all that, and nothing but that, that as there is nothing so dark, so there is nothing so cleare, nothing so remote, nothing so neare us,

as God. Dost thou love learning, as it is sweetned and set to musique by *Poets*? the King of the Poets testifies the same, *Mens agitat molem, & magno se corpore miscet*; that is, a great, an universall spirit, that moves, a generall soule, that inanimates, and agitates every peece of this world. But *Saint Paul* is a more powerfull Orator, then *Cicero*, and he says, *The invisible things of God, are seen by things which are made*; and thereby man is made *inexcuseable*: *Moses* is an auncienter *Philosopher*, then *Trismegistus*; and his picture of God, is

¹⁴⁰ the Creation of the world. *David* is a better *Poet* then *Virgil*; and with *David, Cœli enarrant, the heavens declare the glory of God*; The power of *oratory*, in the force of perswasion, the strength of conclusions, in the pressing of *Philosophy*, the harmony of *Poetry*, in the sweetnesse of composition, never met in any man, so fully as in the Prophet *Esay*, nor in the Prophet *Esay* more, then where he says, *Levate Oculos, Lift up your eyes, on high, and behold who hath created these things*; behold them, *therefore*, to know that they are created, and to know who is their creator. All other authors we distinguish by *tomes*, by *parts*, by *volumes*; but who knowes the volumes

¹⁵⁰ of this Author; how many volumes of Spheares involve one another, how many tomes of Gods Creatures there are? Hast thou not room, hast thou not money, hast thou not understanding, hast thou not leisure, for great volumes, for the *bookes of heaven*, (for the *Mathematiques*) nor for the books of *Courts*, (the *Politiques*) take but the *Georgiques*, the consideration of the *Earth*, a farme, a garden, nay seven foot of earth, a grave, and that will be book enough. Goe lower; every *worme* in the grave, lower, every *weed* upon the grave, is an abridgement of all; nay lock up all doores and windowes, see nothing but *thy selfe*; nay let thy selfe be locked up in a close prison, that thou

¹⁶⁰ canst not see thy selfe, and doe but feel thy *pulse*; let thy pulse be intermitted, or stupefied, that thou feel not that, and doe but thinke, and a *worme*, a *weed*, thy *selfe*, thy *pulse*, thy *thought*, are all testimonies, that *All*, this *All*, and all the parts thereof, are *Opus*, a *work made*, and *opus ejus, his work*, made by *God*. He that made a Clock or an Organ, will be sure to ingrave his *Me fecit*, such a man made me; he that builds a faire house, takes it ill, if a passenger will not aske, *whose house is it?* he that bred up his Sonne to a capacity of noble employments, looks that the world should say, *he had a wise*

Virgil

Rom. 1.20

[Psa. 19.1]

40.26

and an honourable Father; Can any man look upon the frame of this

¹⁷⁰ world, and not say, there is a *powerfull*, upon the administration of this world, and not say, there is a *wise* and a *just* hand over it? Thus is the object, 'tis but *Illud*, the world; but such a world, as may well justifie *Saint Hieromes* translation, who renders it *Illum*; not onely that *every man may see it*, the *work*, the *world*; but may see *him*; *God* in that work.

*Videre
possunt*

That's the *object*, not onely the *work*, but the *workman*, *God* in the *work*; and the *meanes* is, that *man may see it*; that is, by that *spectacle*, he may see *God*; what of *God*? how much of *God*? Is it his *essence*? For that, the *resolution* of the *School* is sufficient; *Nulla*

¹⁸⁰ *visio naturalis in terris*; no man can *see God* in this world, *and live*, but no man can see *God* in the next world, and *dye*, there *visio* is *beatitudo*, sight is salvation. Yet, *Nulla visio corporalis in Cœlis*: These bodily eyes, even then, when they are glorified, shall not see the *Essence* of *God*: our mortal eyes do not see bodies here; they see no *substance*, they see onely *quantities*, and dimensions; our glorified eyes, shall see the *glory* shed out of *God*, but the very *essence* of *God*, those glorified bodily eyes shall not see: but the eyes of our soul, shal be so enlightened, as that they shal see *God Sicuti est*, even in his *essence*, which the best illumined and most sanctified men are very

¹⁹⁰ far from in this life. Now the *sight* of *God* in this text, is the *knowledge* of *God*, to *see God*, is but to *know*, that there is a *God*. And can man as a *naturall man*, doe that? See *God* so, as to know that there is a *God*? Can hee doe it? Nay can he chuse but doe it? The question hath divided the *School*; those two great, and well known families of the *School*, whom we call, *Thomists*, and *Scotists*: the first say, that this proposition, *Deus est*, is *per se nota*, evident in it selfe, and the others deny that; But yet they differ, but thus far, that *Thomas* thinks that it is so evident, that man cannot chuse but know it, though he resist it; The other thinks, in it selfe, it is but so evident, as that a man

²⁰⁰ may know it, if he employ his *naturall faculties*, without going any farther; thus much, indeed, thus little, they differ. Now the holy Ghost is the *God of Peace*, and doth so far reconcile these two, in this text, as that first in our reading, it is, *That man may see God*; and that *Scotus* does not deny; but in the *Originall*, in the *Hebrew*, it is *Casu*, and *Casu is, viderunt*: not, every man *may*, but every man *hath seen*

Viderunt

*Boverius
fo. 14*

God: Though it goe not absolutely, so far, as *Thomas*, every man *must*, no man can chuse but see God, yet it goes so far further then *Scotus*, (who ends in every man *may*) as that it says, every man *hath* seen God. So that our labour never lies in this, to prove to any man,
 210 that he *may* see God, but onely to remember him that he *hath* seen God: not to make him beleeve that there is a God, but to make him see, that he does beleeve it. *Quid habes, quod non accepisti?* And *hast thou received any thing and not seen*, not known him that gave it? Who hath infused *comfort* into thee, into thy distresses? Thine own *Morall constancy*? Who infused that? Who hath imprinted *terrors* in thee? A dampe in thine owne *heart*? Who imprinted it? Sweare to *me* now that thou beleevest not in *God*, and before midnight, thou wilt tell *God*, that thou dost; Miserable distemper! not to see God in the *light*, and see him in the *darke*: not to see him at
 220 *noon*, and see him fearfully at *midnight*: not to see, where we all see him, in the Congregation, and to see him with terror, in the *Suburbs of despaire*, in the solitary chamber.

[1 Cor. 4.7
Vulg.]

Man may, sayes *Scotus*, *man must*, he cannot chuse, sayes *Thomas*, *man hath* seen God, sayes the *holy Ghost*. *Man*, that is, *every man*; and that's our last branch in this first part. The inexcusableness goes over *man*, over all men: Because they would not see invisible things in visible, they are inexcusable, *all*. Death passed upon all men, for all have sinned. All sinners, all dead. Is Gods *right* hand shorter then his *left*? his *mercy* shrunk, and his *justice* stretched? no certainly; cer-
 230 tainly every man may see him. Man cannot hide himselfe from God; God *does not* hide himselfe from man: not from any man. *Col-Adam, Omnis homo*; even in that low name, that lowest acceptation of man, as he is but derived from *earth*, as he is but *earth*, *he may see God*. We have divers names for *man* in Hebrew, at least *four*; This that makes him but *earth*, *Adam*, is the meanest, and yet *Col-Adam, Every man may see God*. *David* cals us to the contemplation of the heavens, *Cœli enarrant*, and *Job* to the contemplation of the *firmament*, of the *Pleiades*, and *Orion*, and *Arcturus*, and the ordinances of heaven; but it is not onely the *Mathematician*, that sees God, *Domini terra*,
 240 the *earth* is the Lords, and *all that dwell therein*; all, in all corners of the earth, may see him. *David* tels us, *They that go down to the sea, in ships, they see the works of the Lord, and his wonders in the deep*:

*Omnis
homo*

Rom. 1.20

5.12

38.31

[Psal. 24.1]

Psal. 107.23

- Luk. 9.62 but it is not onely the Mariner, the discoverer, that discovers God: but he that *puts his hand to the plough, and looks not back*, may see God there. Let him be *filius terræ*, the sonne of the earth, without noble extraction, without knowne place, of uncertainte parents, (even *Melchisedeck* was so) Let him be *filius percussionis*, the sonne of affliction, a man that hath inward heavy sentences, and heavy executions of the law; Let him be *filius mortis*, the sonne of death (as *Saul* ²⁵⁰ said to *Jonathan of David*) a man designed to dye; nay let him be *filius Belial*, the sonne of iniquity, and of everlasting perdition, there is no lownesse, no naturall, no spirituall dejection so low, but that that low man may see God. Let him be *filius terræ*, the sonne of the earth, and of no body else, let him be *Dominus terræ*, Lord of the earth, busied upon the earth, and nothing else, let him be *hospes terræ*, a guest, a tenant, an inmate of the earth, halfe of him in the earth, and the rest no where else, this poore man, this worldly man, this dying man, may see God. To end this, you can place the spheare in no position, in no station, in which the earth can eclipse the Sun; ²⁶⁰ you can place this clod of earth, *man*, in no *ignorance*, in no *melancholy*, in no *oppression*, in no *sinne*, but that he *may*, but that he *does* see God. The Marrigold opens to the Sunne, though it have no tongue to say so, the Atheist does see God, though he have not grace to confesse it.
- 2 Part We have past through our first part, and the three branches of that; The *object, God* in his *works*, and the *faculty* that apprehends, *seeing*, that is *knowing*, and the *person* indued with the faculty, *every man*, even *Adam*. In our second part, which is a tacite answer to a likely objection, (Is not God in the highest heaven, *afar off*? yes; but ²⁷⁰ *man may see afar off*) we have the same three branches too, and yet not the same; the same *object, God*, but in another manifestation, then in his *worke*, in *glory*; the same *faculty, seeing*, but with other manner of eyes, glorified eyes; the same *person, man*, but not *man*, as he is *Adam*, a meere *naturall* and earthly man, but man, as he is *Enosh*, who by having tasted Gods corrections, or by having considered the miseries of this world, is prepared for the joy and glory of the next. And in this part we will begin with the person, *man*; *Man may behold it afar off.*
- Enosh How different are the wayes of God, from the ways of man? the

280 eyes of God from the eyes of man? and the wayes, and eyes of a godly man, from the eyes, and wayes of a man of this world? We looke still upon high persons, and after high places, and from those heights, we thinke, we see far; but he that will see this object, must lye low; it is best discerned in the dark, in a heavy, and a calamitous fortune. The naturall way is *upward*; I can better know a man upon the top of a steeple, then if he were halfe that depth in a well; but yet for higher objects, I can better see the stars of heaven, in the botome of a well, then if I stood upon the highest steeple upon earth. If I twist a cable of infinite fadomes in length, if there be no ship to
 290 ride by it, nor anchor to hold by it, what use is there of it? If Mannor thrust Mannor, and title flow into title, and bags powre out into chests, if I have no anchor, (*faith in Christ*) if I have not a ship to carry to a haven, (a soule to save) what's my long cable to me? If I adde number to number, a span, a mile long, if at the end of all that long line of numbers, there be nothing that notes, *pounds*, or *crownes*, or *shillings*, what's that long number, but so many millions of millions of nothing? If my span of life become a mile of life, my penny a pound, my pint a gallon, my acre a sheere; yet if there be nothing of the next world at the end, so much peace of conscience, so much
 300 joy, so much glory, still all is but *nothing* multiplied, and that is still nothing at all. 'Tis the *end* that qualifies all; and what kinde of man I shall be at my end, upon my *death-bed*, what trembling hands, and what lost legs, what deafe eares, and what gummy eyes, I shall have then, I know; and the nearer I come to that disposition, in my life, (the more *mortified* I am) the better I am disposed to see this object, future glory. God made the Sun, and Moon, and Stars, glorious lights for man to see by; but mans infirmity requires *spectacles*; and affliction does that office. Gods meaning was, that by the sun-shine of prosperity, and by the beames of honour, and temporall blessings, a
 310 man should see farre into him; but I know not how he is come to need *spectacles*; scarce any man sees much in this matter, till affliction shew it him. God made the ballance even; riches may show God, and poverty may show God; let the two Testaments, the old and the new, be the ballance, and so they are even; the blessednesse of the old Testament runs all upon temporall blessings, and worldly riches; *Blessed in the city, and in the field; blessed in the fruit of thy cattell, and of*

[Mat. 5.3,
4, 11]

thy wombe: In the new Testament utterly otherwise; *Blessed are the poore, Blessed are they that mourne, Blessed are they that are persecuted, and reviled*; but the blessednesse of the old Testament, ³²⁰ *temporall blessings*, are temporary, as the old Testament was; that's expir'd. The blessednesse of the Gospell, is as the Gospell, everlasting: and therefore the low way is the best way; *adversity* will be the best way to see God by. I speake not of meere *beggery*, of having nothing; but of having lesse then we had; the losse of some of that possession, or honour, or wealth, or health, which we had, conduces more to this sight of God, then the additions of any of these. Extreme want may put a man out of his way to God, as far as abundance and superfluity; as we say in civill things, the *middle men* raise the Subsidy, not the *great men*, nor the *beggers*; so the middle men see farthest into God,

Prov. 30.8

³³⁰ and serve him best; not the abounding, not the wanting man.

Solomon prayes against both; against riches, and against poverty too; but yet not as though the danger were equall, if the words be well considered; the danger of his *poverty* is, *lest he steale, and take the Name of God in vaine*; that is, *forswear the theft*; a great fault, two great faults; but these two amount not to that one, which arises out of abundance, *Lest I be full, and deny thee, and say, Who is the Lord?*

Hierome

And that Poverty, that *Solomon* speaks of, Saint *Hierome* cals not, *paupertatem*, but *mendicitatem*; and that is often indeed, the mother and nurse of many enormous mischiefs. Saint *Bernard* takes the word,

³⁴⁰ *poverty*, in that place, but he multiplies it, *Paupertates ne dederis, Give me not, O Lord, a double poverty*; poverty *in deed*, and poverty *in opinion*; poverty, and a murmuring with my poverty; for that also

Phil. 4.12
Chrysost.

is the mother, and nurse of many enormous mischiefs. *I know how to abound, and how to want*; It is the harder worke, *ferre abundantiam*; abundance is a burden, want is but a weaknesse; and it is a greater torment, to be pressed under a great weight, then to lye bed-rid. To end this, the person in our Text is *Enosh, man*; but not every man, as before, *Adam*; but that man upon whom Gods hand hath been in the losse of something, that he had before. As the body of man is

³⁵⁰ mellowed in the grave, and made fit for glory in the resurrection, so the minde of man by suffering is supplied; *Adam* is made *Enosh*; and he may see.

Intuebitur

The person is the same, and yet changed; *man*, but another kinde

of man; The *meanes* of apprehending is the same, and yet changed too, *seeing*, but another kinde of seeing. This man, thus disposed, thus matured, thus mellowed, thus suppled, thus entred by Gods easie corrections, he whom God hath not left to himself, nor yet put him beyond himself, not fulfilled all, but yet not frustrated all his desires neither, laid his hand upon him, so as to keep him downe from

³⁶⁰ swelling up against him, but yet so too, as to keep him up, from sinking, or falling from him, that man, that *Enosh* may see the hand of God, and take God by the hand, and bid him *welcome*, and finde a rich, and a sweet advantage in that correction; it is a *seeing of God*, not as before, in his *works* abroad, but in his *working* upon himself, at home. Such a man God strikes so, as that when he strikes, he strikes fire, and lights him a candle, to see his presence by; we doe not finde that *Job* came to his *Dominus dedit*, to his confession, *The Lord giveth*, till he came to the *Dominus abstulit*, to the sense of Gods taking away; not to expresse his sense of Gods blessings to him, till

³⁷⁰ he felt his corrections upon him; and then they came together, *Dominus dedit*, and *abstulit*, *The Lord giveth, and the Lord taketh away*. Darknesse is that, by which the holy Ghost himselfe hath chosen to expresse *hell*; hell is *darknesse*; and the way to it, to hell, is *Excaecation* in this life, blindnesse in our spirituall eyes. Eternall life hereafter is *Visio Dei*, the sight of God, and the way to that here, is to *see God* here: and the *eye-salve* for that is, to be crossed in our desires in this world, by the hand of God. When Christ presents things necessary for his service, he proposes them thus; this is his Inventory; *Gold* against poverty, *white clothes* against nakednesse,

³⁸⁰ and *collyrium*, eye-salve to see by. Now for the two first he bids us *buy them*; *buy gold*, *buy clothes*, that is, *labour*, endeavour to get them; he does not say, *buy the eye-salve*, that is, affliction; no man is to thrust himselfe into unnecessary dangers, or persecutions, and call his indiscretion *Martyrdome*; It is to be presumed, that every man, how high or how abundant soever, hath eye-salve enough, affliction and crosses enough, if he do apply them: and therefore Christ does not say, *buy them*, hunt after them, expose thy selfe to them; but he sayes onely, *Anoynt thy eyes with them*, I will give thee the physick, (crosses and calamities here) do thou apply them according to the

³⁹⁰ nature of the medicine, and to the purpose of the physitian, and by them thou shalt see God.

[Job 1.21]

Apo. 3.18

Our translation carries this word no farther in this part of the Text, then the other in the former; There it was, *every man may see*; here it is, *man*, that is, *this man may behold*. But as we showed you, that the former was in the originall *Casu, viderunt*, every man, (let him say what he will to the contrary) yet he *hath* seen God, so in this part, the word in the originall, is *Iabbit*, and that is *videbit*, in the *future, he shall see*; This sight of God is not in him, *naturally*, that we can be sure he *hath* seen him, but it is reserved to the *future*; let ⁴⁰⁰ him be thus wrought upon by Gods hand, and *videbit*, in the *future*, *he shall see*. Now, you remember what designes the *future*; *he shall see*, is a note of the *future*, and so is, *he will see*. This man, this *Enosh*, thus moulded, thus kneaded, by the hand of God, *he shall* see God, *he shall* (in a manner) whether he will or no, a holy, and a heavenly violence shall be offered him, it shall not be in the power of the world, the flesh or the devill, to blind him, he shall see God; and then *he will see God*, his will shall be inclined, and disposed to it, and every first beame of Gods grace, every influence of the Spirit of God, shall open his eyes; God shall be so jealous of him, as that *he shall* ⁴¹⁰ see God, *he shall* be so watchfull upon God, and his motions, as that *he will see him*.

And more then see him; for *Iabbit*, is *Intuebitur*, *he will behold him*, contemplate God, ruminate, meditate upon God. Man *sees* best in the *light*, but *meditates* best in the *darke*; for our sight of God, it is enough, that God gives the light of *nature*; to behold him so, as to fixe upon him in meditation, God benights us, or eclipses us, or casts a cloud of medicinall afflictions, and wholsome corrections upon us. Naturally we dwell longer upon the consideration of God, when we see the Sun eclipsed, then when we see it rise, we passe by that as an ⁴²⁰ ordinary thing; and so in our afflictions we stand, and looke upon God, and we behold him. A man may see God, and forget that ever he saw him; *When saw we thee hungry, or naked, or sick, or in prison*, say those mercilesse men; they forgot; but Christ remembers that they did see him, but not *behold* him, see him, and looke off, see him so as aggravated their sin, more then if they had never seene him. But that man, who through his owne *red glasse*, can see Christ, in that colour too, through his own miseries, can see Christ Jesus in his blood, that through the calumnies that have been put upon him-

self, can see the revilings that were multiplyed upon Christ, that in
⁴³⁰ his own imprisonment, can see Christ in the grave, and in his owne
 enlargement, Christ in his resurrection, this man, this *Enosh*, beholds
 God, and he beholds him *è longinquō*, which is another step in this
 branch, *he sees him afar off*.

Now this *seeing afar off*, is not a phrase of diminution, a circumstance of extenuation, as though it were lesse, to see God afar off, and more to see him neerer. This *far off*, is far from that; it is a power of seeing him so, as wheresoever I am, or wheresoever God is, I can see him at any distance. Being established in my foundation upon God, being built up by faith, in that notion of God, in which he hath
⁴⁴⁰ manifested himselfe to me in his Sonne, being mounted, and raised by dwelling in his Church, being made like unto him, in suffering, as he suffered, I can see round about me, even to the *Horizon*, and beyond it, I can see *both Hemispheres* at once, God in this, and God in the next world too. I can see him, in the *Zenith*, in the highest point, and see how he works upon *Pharaoh*, on the Throne, and I can see him in the *Nadir*, in the lowest dejection, and see how he workes upon *Joseph* in the prison; I can see him in the *East*, see how mercifully he brought the *Christian Religion* amongst us, and see him in the *West*, see how justly he might remove that againe, and leave

⁴⁵⁰ us to our own inventions; I can see him in the *South*, in a warme, and in the *North*, in a frosty fortune: I can see him in all angles, in all postures; *Abraham* saw God coming to him, as he sate at the doore of his Tent; and though (as the Text sayes there) *God stood by him*, (yet sayes the Text too) *Abraham ran to meet God*; I can see God in the visitation of his Spirit come to me; and when he is so, he is already in me; but I must run out to meet him; that is, labour to hold him there, and to advance that manifestation of himselfe in me. *Abraham* saw God *comming*; *Moses* saw God *going*, his glory passing by; he saw *posteriora, his hinder parts*; so I can see God in

⁴⁶⁰ the memory of his blessings formerly conferred upon me; And *Moses* saw him too, in a *burning bush*, in thornes and fire: And had I no other light, but the fire of a pile of faggots, *in that light I could see his light*, I could see himselfe. Let me be the man of this Text, this *Enosh*, to say with *Jeremy*, *I am the man that hath seene affliction, by the rod of his wrath*, Let me have had this third concoction, that

È longinquō

Gen. 18.1

Exod. 33.23

[Exod. 3.2]

[Psa. 36.9]

Lam. 3.1

[Isa. 53.3

Vulg.]

as I am *Adam*, a man of earth, (wrought upon that wheele) and, as I am a *Christian*, a vessell in his house, a member of his Church (wrought upon that wheele) so let me be *vir dolorum*, a man of affliction, a vessell baked in that furnace, fitted by Gods proportion,
 470 and *dosis* of his corrections, to make a right use of his corrections, and I can see God, *E longinquo, afar off*, I can see him writing downe my name in the booke of life, before I was borne, and I can see him giving his Angels, *The Angell of the great Counsell*, Christ Jesus himselfe, and his spirit, charge of my preservation, all the way, and of my transmigration upon my death-bed, and that is *E longinquo*, from before I was, to after I shall be no more.

Objection

[1 Cor. 2.9]

There remaines a word more; 'Tis scarce well said; for there remaines not a word more. There is not another word, and yet there is another branch in the Text. This man, (not *every man*, as before) 480 this *Enosh*, (not *every Adam* as before) he sees not onely as before, but he *beholds afarre off*; and so farre we are gone; but what beholds he afarre off? That the Text tels us not. Before there was an *illud*, *Every man may see that*, aske what is that, and I can tell you, I have told you out of the coherence of the Text, It is *Gods workes*, manifesting himselfe even to the naturall man. But this man, this *Enosh*, raised by his dejection, rectified by humiliation, *may behold, what?* here is no *illud*, no such word as *that*, no object limited, and therefore it is that *which no eye hath seene, nor eare heard, nor heart of man conceived*, it is God in the glory, and assembly of his immortall Saints 490 in heaven. How many times go we to Comedies, to Masques, to places of great and noble resort, nay even to Church onely to see the company? If I had no other errand to heaven, but the *communion of Saints*, the fellowship of the faithfull, to see that flock of *Lambs*, Innocent, unbaptized *children*, recompensed with the twice-baptized *Martyrs*, (baptized in *water*, and baptized in their owne *blood*) and that middle sort, the children baptized in blood, and not in the water, that rescued Christ Jesus, by their death, under *Herod*; to see the *Prophets* and the *Evangelists*, and not know one from the other, by their writings, for they all write the same things (for *prophecy* 500 is but *antidated Gospell*, and *Gospell* but *postdated prophecy*;) to see holy *Matrons* saved by the bearing, and bringing up of children, and holy *Virgins*, saved by restoring their bodies in the integrity, that

they received them, sit all upon one seate; to see *Princes*, and *Subjects* crowned all with one crowne, and *rich* and *poore* inherit one portion; to see this scene, this Court, this Church, this Catholique Church, not onely *Easterne* and *Westerne*, but *Militant* and *Triumphant* Church, all in one roome together, to see this *Communion of Saints*, this fellowship of the faithfull, is worth all the paynes, that that sight costs us in this world.

510 But then to see the *head* of this Church, the Sunne, that sheds all these beames, the God of glory *face to face*, to see him *sicuti est*, as he *is*, to know him, *ut cognitus*, as I am knowne, what darke, and inglorious fortune would I not passe thorow, to come to that light, and that glory? How then hath God doubled his mercies upon those persons to whom he hath afforded two great lights, a *Sunne to rule their day*, honour and prosperity, and a *Moone to rule their night*, humiliation and adversity, to whom he hath given *both Types*, in themselves, to see this future glory by, that is, Titles and places of honour in this world, and spectacles in themselves to see this glory 520 by afflictions, and crosses in this world. And therefore since God gives both these no where so plentifully, as in *Courts* the place of *Honour*, and the place of *Crosses* too, the place of *rising* and the place of *falling* too, you, you especially, who by having your station there, in the Court it selfe, are in the Court exemplified, and copied in your owne noble houses, you that have seen God characterized in his *Types*, in titles of greatnessse, you that have beheld God presented in his *spectacle* of Crosses and afflictions, the *daily bread* of Courts, *Blesse ye the Lord, praise him, and magnifie him for ever*, and declare the wondrous workes that he hath done for the Sonnes of men; for 530 certainly many woes, and invincible darknesse attend those, to whom neither the hand of God in his *works*, nor the hand of God upon *themselves*, neither the *greatnesse* of this world, nor the *crosses* of this world, can manifest God; for what picture of God would they have, that will neither have him in great, nor little?

[1 Cor.
13.12]

[Gen. 1.16]

[Song of
the Three
Children]

Number 7.

A Sermon upon the XX. verse of the V. Chapter of the Booke of Judges. Wherein occasion was justly taken for the Publication of some Reasons, which his Sacred Majestie had been pleased to give, of those Directions for Preachers, which hee had formerly sent foorth. Preached at the Crosse the 15th of September. 1622. By John Donne, Doctor of Divinitie, and Deane of Saint Pauls, London. And now by commandement of his Majestie Published, as it was then preached.

London, Printed for Thomas Jones, and are to bee sold at his Shop in the Strand, at the blacke Raven, neere unto Saint Clements Church. 1622.

[DEDICATORY EPISTLE]

*To the Right Honourable,
GEORGE, MARQUESSE OF BUCKINGHAM,
High Admirall of England, &c.*

When I would speake to the KING, by your LORDSHIPS Meanes, I doe: Now, when I would speake to the Kingdom, I would do that by your Lordshippes Meanes to: and therefore I am bold to transfer this Sermon to the World, through your Lordships hands, and under your Name. For the first part of the Sermon, the Explication of the Text, my profession, and my Conscience is warant enough, that I have spoken as the Holy Ghost intended. For the second part, the Application of the Text, it wil

be warrant enough, that I have spoken as his Majestie intended, that your Lordship admits it to issue in your Name. It is because Kings favour the Church, that the Prophet sayes they are her Foster-Fathers; and then, those persons, who have also interest in the favor of Kings, are her Foster-Brothers: and such use to love well. By that Title, (as by many other also) your Lordship loves the Church; as you are her Foster-Brother; loved of him who loves her. And by that Title you love all them in the Church, who endevour to advance the welfare of the Church in it self, and the unity of the Church, with the godly designes of our religious King. To which Service, I shall ever sacrifice all the labors of

Your Lordships humblest
and thankefullest Ser-

vant in Christ Jesus:

JOHN DONNE.

JUDGES 5.20. *DE CŒLO DIMICATUM EST
CONTRA EOS: STELLÆ MANENTES IN
ORDINE, & CURSU SUO ADVERSUS SISERAM
PUGNAVERUNT.*

*THEY FOUGHT FROM HEAVEN; THE
STARS IN THEIR COURSES FOUGHT
AGAINST SISERA.*

ALL THE WORDS of *God* are alwayes sweete in themselves, sayes *David*; but sweeter in the mouth, and in the pen of some of the *Prophets*, and some of the *Apostles*, then of others, as they differed in their naturall gifts, or in their education: but sweetest of all, where the *Holy Ghost* hath beene pleased to set the word of *God* to Musique, and to convay it into a Song; and this Text is of that kind: part of the Song which *Deborah* and *Barak* sung after their great victory upon *Sisera*; *Sisera* who was *Iabin* the King of *Canaans* Generall against *Israel*. God himselfe made *Moses* a Song,
¹⁰ and expressed his reason why; The children of *Israel*, sayes *God*, will forget my Law; but this song they will not forget; and whensoever

[Psa.
119.103]

Deut. 31.19

they sing this song, this song shall testifie against them, what I have done for them, how they have forsaken me. And to such a purpose hath *God* left this Song of *Deborah* and *Barak* in the *Scriptures*, that all *Murmurers*, and all that stray into a diffidence of *Gods* power, or of his purpose to sustaine his owne cause, and destroy his owne Enemies, might run and read, might read and sing, the wonderfull deliverances that *God* hath given to his people, by weake and unexpected meanes. This world begun with a Song, if the *Chalde*

²⁰ *Paraphrasts*, upon *Salomons Song of Songs* have taken a true tradition, That assoone as *Adams* sinne was forgiven him, he expressed (as he cals it in that Song) *Sabbatum suum*, his Sabbath, his peace of conscience, in a Song; of which, we have the entrance in that *Paraphrase*. This world begun so; and so did the next world too, if wee count the beginning of that (as it is a good computation to doe so) from the comming of *Christ Jesus*: for that was expressed on Earth, in divers Songs; in the blessed *Virgins* *Magnificat*; *My soule doth magnifie the Lord*: In *Zacharies* *Benedictus*; *Blessed be the Lord God of Israel*; and in *Simeons*, *Nunc dimittis*, *Lord, now lettest thou*

³⁰ *thy servant depart in peace*. This world began so, and the other; and when both shall joyne, and make up one world without end, it shall continue so in heaven, in that Song of the *Lamb*, *Great and marvelous are thy workes, Lord God Almighty, just and true are thy wayes, thou King of Saints*. And, to Tune us, to Compose and give us a Harmonie and Concord of affections, in all perturbations and passions, and discords in the passages of this life, if we had no more of the same *Musique* in the *Scriptures* (as we have the Song of *Moses* at the *Red Sea*, and many *Psalmes of David* to the same purpose) this Song of *Deborah* were enough, abundantly enough, to slumber

⁴⁰ any storme, to becalme any tempest, to rectifie any scruple of *Gods* slacknesse in the defence of his cause, when in the History and occasion of this Song, expressed in the Chapter before this, we see, That *Israel had done evill in the sight of the Lord againe*, and yet againe, *God* came to them: That *God himselfe had sold Israel into the hands of Iabin King of Canaan*, and yet he repented the bargaine, and came to them; That *in twenty yeeres oppression he came not*, and yet he came. That *when Sisera came against them, with nine hundred Chariots of Iron*, and all preparations, proportionable to that, and

[Luk. 1.46]
[Luk. 1.68]
[Luk. 2.29]

Apoc. 15.3

[Exod. 15]

[Judg.
4.1, 2]

God cald up a woman, a Prophetesse, a *Deborah* against him, be-
 50 cause *Deborah* had a zeale to the cause, and consequently an enmity
 to the enemie, *God* would effect his purpose by so weake an instru-
 ment, by a woman, but by a woman, which had no such interest, nor
 zeale to the cause; by *Iael*: And in *Iael's* hand, by such an instrument,
 as with that, scarce any man could doe it, if it were to be done againe,
 with a hammer she drives a nayle through his temples, and nayles
 him to the ground, as he lay sleeping in her tent: And then the end
 of all, was the end of all, *not one man of his army left alive. O my*
Soule, why art thou so sad, why art thou so disquieted within me?
 Sing unto the Lord an old song, the song of *Deborah* and *Barak*,
 60 That God by weake meanes doth mighty workes, That all Gods crea-
 tures fight in his behalfe, *They fought from heaven, the starres in*
their Order, fought against Sisera.

[Psa. 42.5]

You shal have but two parts out of these words; And to make these
 two parts, I consider the Text, as the two *Hemispheres* of the world,
 laid open in a flat, in a plaine Map. All those parts of the world,
 which the Ancients have used to consider, are in one of those *Hemi-
 spheres*; All *Europe* is in that, and in that is all *Asia*, and *Afrike* too:
 So that when we have seene that *Hemisphere*, done with that, we
 might seeme to have seene all, done with all the world; but yet the
 70 other *Hemisphere*, that of *America* is as big as it; though, but by
 occasion of new, and late discoveries, we had had nothing to say of
America. So the first part of our Text, will bee as that first *Hemi-
 sphere*; all which the ancient Expositors found occasion to note out of
 these words, will be in that: but by the new discoveries of some
 humors of men, and rumors of men, we shall have occasion to say
 somewhat of a second part to. The parts are, first, the Literall, the
 Historicall sense of the words; And then an emergent, a collaterall,
 an occasionall sense of them. The *explication* of the wordes, and the
Application, Quid tunc, Quid nunc, How the words were spoken
 80 then, How they may be applied now, will be our two parts. And,
 in passing through our first, wee shall make these steps. First, *God*
 can, and sometimes doth effect his purposes by himselfe; intirely,
 immediatly, extraordinarily, miraculously by himselfe: But yet, in a
 second place, we shall see, by this story, That he lookes for assistance,
 for concurrence of second causes, and subordinate meanes: And that

Division

therefore, *God* in this Song of *Deborah*, hath provided an honourable commemoration of them, who did assist his cause; for, the Princes have their place, *The Princes of Issachar were with her*: And then, the *Governours*, The great Persons, the great Officers of the State, have their place in this honour, That *they offered themselves willingly to that service*; And after them, the *Merchants*, for those who are said there, *to ride upon white Asses*, to be well mounted, according to the manner of those *Nations*, are, by *Peter Martyr*, amongst our Expositors, and by *Serarius the Jesuite*, amongst the others, fitly understood, to be intended of *Merchants*; And in the same *verse*, the *Judges* are honorably remembred, *Those that sit in Judgement*; And a farre unlikelier sort of people, then any of these, in the same *verse* too, *Those that walked by the way*; Idle, and discoursing men, that were not much affected, how businesse went, so ¹⁰⁰ they might talke of them: And lastly, the whole people in generall, how poore soever, they have evidence from this record, That *they offered themselves* (and what will they denie, that offer themselves) and willingly, to this imploiment. And then, *God* having here afforded this honourable mention of them, who did assist him, he layes also a heavy note upon such, who for collaterall respects prevaricated, or withdrew themselves from his service: particularly upon *Ruben*, who was *divided by greatnesse of heart*, And upon *Dan, who remained in his ships*. And therefore to the encouragement of those who did assist him, in any proportion, though their assistance were ¹¹⁰ no wayes competent against so potent an enemy, *God* fought for himselfe too, *They fought from Heaven, The starres in their order fought against Sisera*. And these will be the branches, or circumstances of our first part: for the particulars of the second, we shall open them more commodiously for your memory and use, then, when we come to handle them, then now. Now we proceed to those of the first part.

Part 1 And into those I passe with this protestation, That in all which I shall say this day, beeing to speake often of *God*, in that *Notion*, as he is *Lord of Hostes*, and fights his owne battailes, I am farre from ¹²⁰ giving fire to them that desire warre. *Peace* in this world, is a pretious *Earnest*, and a faire and lovely *Type* of the everlasting peace of the world to come: And warre in this world, is a shrewd and fearefull

Embleme of the everlasting discord and tumult, and torment of the world to come: And therefore, our *Blessed God*, blesse us with this externall, and this internall, and make that lead us to an eternall peace. But I speake of this subject, especially to establish and settle them, that suspect Gods power, or Gods purpose, to succour those, who in forraine parts, grone under heavie pressures in matter of *Religion*, or to restore those, who in forraine parts, are devested of ¹³⁰ their lawfull possessions, and inheritance; and because *God* hath not done these great workes yet, nor yet raised up meanes, in appearance, and in their apprehension, likely to effect it, That therefore *God* likes not the cause; and therefore they begin to bee shaked in their owne *Religion* at home, since they thinke that *God* neglects it abroad. But, beloved, since *God* made all this world of nothing, cannot hee recover any one peece thereof, or restore any one peece, with a little? In the Creation, his production of specifique formes, and severall Creatures in the severall dayes, was much, very much; but not very much, compared with that, which he had done immediatly before, ¹⁴⁰ when he made Heaven and Earth of nothing. For, for the particular Creatures, *God* had then *Præjacentem Materiam*, he had stiffe before him; enough to cut out Creatures of the largest sise, his *Elephants* of the Earth, his *Whales* and *Leviathans* in the Sea. In that matter there was *Semen Creaturarum*, The Seed of all Creatures in that stiffe. But for the stiffe it selfe, the Heaven and Earth, *God* had not *Semen Cœli*, any such seed of Heaven as that he could say to it, doe thou hatch a Heaven; he had not any such *Semen terræ*, as that hee could bid that grow up into an Earth: There was nothing at all, and all, that is, was produced from that; and then who shall doubt of his ¹⁵⁰ proceeding, if by a little he will doe much? He suffered his greater works to be paraleld, or to be counterfeit by *Pharaohs Magicians*; but in his least, in the making of Lice, hee brought them to confesse *Digitum Dei*, the finger of *God*; and that was enough; The arme of *God*, the hand of *God* needs not; where he will worke, his finger is enough. It was not that imagination, that dreame of the *Rabbins*, that hindered the *Magicians*, who say, that the *Devill* cannot make any Creature, lesse then a Barley corne; As it is with men, they misconceive it to be with the *Devill* too; harder to make a little clocke, a little picture, any thing in a little, then in a larger forme. That was

[Exod.
8.19]

Esa. 37.36
2 Reg. 6.16

1 Sam. 13.5
[and 14.15]
Jud. 7

[1 Reg.
19.14, 18]

¹⁶⁰ no part of the reason in that case: but since man ordinarily esteemes it so, and ordinarily admires great workes in little forme, why will he not be content to glorifie *God* that way, in a faithfull confidence, that hee can and will doe great workes by weake meanes? Should God have stayd to levie, and arme, and traine, and muster, and present men enow to discomfit *Sennacherib*? Hee tooke a neerer way; he slew almost two hundred thousand of them, in one night by an *Angell*. Should God have troubled an *Angell* to satisfie *Elisha* his servant? Onely by apparition in the cloudes, he brought him to acknowledge, that there were more with them, then with the *Enemy*, ¹⁷⁰ when there was none. He troubled not so much as a cloud, he imployed no Creature at all, against the *Philistines*, when they came up with thirty thousand *Chariots*; but hee breathed a dampe, an astonishment into them, he imprinted a divine terror in their hearts, and they fought against one another. *God* foresaw a diminution of his honour, in the augmentation of *Israels* forces, and therfore he reduced *Gideons* thirty two thousand to three hundred persons. It was so in persons, God does much with few, and it was so in time, God does much, though late; though God seeme a long time to have forgot his people, yet in due time, that is, in his time, he returns to them ¹⁸⁰ againe. S. *Augustine* makes a usefull Historicall note, That that land to which *God* brought the *Children of Israel*, was their owne land before; they were the right heires to it, lineally descended from him, who was the first possessor of it, after the flood: but they were so long out of possession of it, as that they were never able to set their title on foot; nay they did scarce know their owne title; and yet *God* repossessed them of it, reinvested them in it. It is so for *persons*, and *times* in his wayes in this world, Much with few, much though late, and it is so in his wayes to the next world too: for *persons*, *Elias* knew of no more but himselfe, that served the right *God* aright: *God* ¹⁹⁰ makes him know that there were seven thousand more; seven thousand was much to one, but it was little to all the world: and yet these seven thousand have peopled heaven, and sent up all those *Colonies* thither; all those *Armies* of *Martyrs*, those flockes of *Lambes*, innocent children, those *Fathers*, the Fathers of the Church, and *Mothers*, holy *Matrons*, and daughters, blessed *Virgines*, and learned and laborious *Doctors*; these seven thousand have filled up the places of

the fallen *Angels*, and repeopled that Kingdome: And wheresoever we thinke them most worne out, *God* at this time hath his remnant (as the *Apostle* sayes) and *God* is able to make up the whole garment ²⁰⁰ of that remnant. So he does much with few, in the wayes to heaven; and that he does much though late, in that way too, thou mayest discerne in his working upon thy selfe. How often hast thou suffered thy *Soule*, to grow cleane out of all reparations into ruine, by thine inconsiderate and habituall course of sinne, and never repaired it by any good use of hearing the word, or receiving the *Sacrament* in a long time, and when thou hast at any time, come to a survey of thy conscience, how hast thou beene affected with an inordinate apprehension of *Gods* anger, and his inaccessiblenesse, his inexorablenessse towards thee, and sunke even into the jawes of desperation; And yet,

Rom. 11.5

²¹⁰ *Quia manet semen dei*, because the seed of *God* hath remained in thee, *Incubat Spiritus*, the Holy Ghost hath sat upon that seed, and hatched a new Creature in thee, a modest, but yet infallible assurance of the Mercy of thy God. Recollect all; in raying of sieges, and discomfiting of Armies, in restoring possessions, and reinvesting right heires, in repairing the ruines of the Kingdome of heaven, depopulated in the fall of *Angels*, in reestablishing peace of conscience; in a presumptuous confidence, or over-timorous diffidence in *God*, *God* glorifies himselfe that way, to doe much with little.

1 Jo. 3.9

He does so; but yet hee will have something. *God* is a good *Husband*, a good *Steward* of Mans contributions, but contributions hee will have: hee will have a concurrence, a cooperation of *persons*. Even in that great worke, which wee spake of at first, the first creation, which was so absolutely of *Nothing*, yet there was a *Faciamus*, let *us*, *us*, make Man; though but one *God*, yet more *Persons* in that worke. *Christ* had been able to have done as the Devil would have had him doe, to have made bread of stones, when hee had so great a number to feed in the Wildernes; but hee does not so: Hee askes his *Disciples*, *Quot panes habetis*; How many loafes have you? and though they were but five, yet since they were some, he multiplies

Matt. 4.3

²²⁰ them, and feeds above five thousand with those five. Hee would have a remnant of *Gedeons Armie* to fight his battailes: A remnant of *Israels beleevers* to make up his Kingdome; A remnant of thy *Soule*, his seed wrapt up somewhere, to save thy *Soule*; And a remnant of

Mar. 6.38

thy selfe, of thy *Mind*, of thy *Purse*, of thy *Person*, for thy temporall deliverance. *God* goes lowe, and accepts small Sacrifices; a Pigeon, a handfull of Flower, a few eares of Corne; but a Sacrifice he will have. The *Christian Church* implies a shrewd distresse, when shee provides that reason, that clause in her prayer, *Quia non est alius, Give Peace in our time, O Lord, because there is no other that fighteth for us*: If the bowels of compassion bee eaten out, if the band of the Communion of Saints be dissolved, we fight for none, none fights for us, at last neyther we nor they shall fight for *Christ*, nor *Christ* for them nor us, but all become a prey to the generall enemie of the name of *Christ*; for *God* requires something, some assistance, some concurrence, some cooperation, though *he can fight from heaven, and the Starres, in their order, can fight against Sisera*.

[B.C.P.
Suffrages
in Morning
and
Evening
Prayer]

[Isa. 42.8]

Prov. 10.7

Mat. 26.13

²⁴⁰ And therefore, though *God* give *his glorie* to none, *his glorie*, that is to doe all with *Nothing*, yet he gives them *their glorie*, that doe any thing for him, or for themselves. And as hee hath laid up a record, ²⁵⁰ for their glorie and Memoriall, who were remarkable for Faith (for the eleventh *Chapter* to the *Hebrewes*, is a *Catalogue* of them) So in this Song of *Deborah* and *Barake*, hee hath laide up a Record for their glorie, who expressed their faith in *Workes*, and assisted his service. That which is said in generall, *The Memorie of the just is blessed, but the name of the wicked shall rot*, That is applied and promised in particular, by him, who can perorme it, by *Christ*, to that woman, who anointed him, That *whersoever his Gospele should be Preached in the whole world, ther should also this that this woman had done, be told for a memorall of her*. Shee assisted at his Funerall ²⁶⁰ (as *Christ* himselfe interprets her action, That *shee did it to burie him*) and hath her glorie: how shall he glorifie them, that advance his glorie? Shee hath her reward in his death; what shall they have, that keepe him, and his Gospele alive? Not a verse in *Deborah* and *Baraks* song, and yet that is honourable evidence: Not a commemoration at the Preaching of the Gospele; and yet that is the honourable testimonie in this place, and at these Exercises, of such as have contributed to the conveniences of these Exercises, but they shall have a place in the *Booke of life*; indelibly in the *Booke of life*, if they proceede in that devotion of assisting *Gods* cause, and doe not thinke, ²⁷⁰ that they have done all, or done enough, if they have done something

some one time. The *Morall man* hath said well, and well applied it; *A Ship is a Ship for ever, if you repaire it.* So, sayes hee, *Honour is Honour*, and so say wee, *A good Conscience is a good Conscience for ever, if you repaire it:* But, sayes he well, *Aliquid famæ addendum, ne putrescat.* Honour will putrifie, and so will a good Conscience too, if it be not repaired. He that hath done Nothing must begin, and hee that hath done something for *Gods* cause, must doe more, if hee will continue his name in the Booke of Life; though *God* leave no one particular action, done for his glorie, without glorie; as those
²⁸⁰ who assisted his glorie heere, have a glorious Commemoration in this Song.

Plutar.

In the fifteenth verse, *Princes* have their place; *The Princes of Issachar, were with Deborah:* when the *King* goes to the field, Many, who are in other cases Priviledged, are by their Tenures bound to goe. It is a high *Tenure* to hold by a *Crowne*; And when *God*, of whome, and whome onely they hold, that hold so, goes into the field, it becomes them to goe with him. But as *God* sits in *Heaven*, and yet goes into the field, so they of whome *God* hath said, *Yee are Gods*, the *Kings* of the Earth, may stay at home, and yet goe too. They goe
²⁹⁰ in their assistance to the *Warre*; They goe in their Mediation for *Peace*; They goe in their *Example*, when from their sweetnesse, and moderation in their Gouvernement at home, there flowes out an instruction, a perswasion to Princes abroad. *Kings* goe many times, and are not thanked, because their wayes are not seene: and *Christ* himselfe would not alwayes bee seene; In the eight of *Iohn*, he would not be seene. When they tooke up stones to stone him, he withdrew himselfe invisibly, hee would not be seene: When *Princes* find that open actions exasperate, they doe best, if they be not seene. In the sixth of *Iohn*, *Christ* would not bee seene. When they would have
³⁰⁰ put upon him, that which was not fit for him to take, when they would have made him *King*, he withdrew himselfe, and was not seene. When *Princes* are tempted to take Territories, or possessions in to their hands, to which other *Princes* have just pretences, they doe best, if they withdrawe themselves from engagements in unnecessarie Warres, for that, that onely was *Iosiahs* ruine. *Kings* cannot alwayes goe in the sight of Men, and so they lose their thankes; but they cannot goe out of the sight of *God*, and there they never lose

[Psa. 82.6]

2 Reg. 23.29

[Mat. 6.4]

their reward: For the *Lord that sees them in secret, shall reward them openly*, with peace in their owne States, and Honour in their owne ³¹⁰ *Chronicles*, as here, for assisting his cause, hee gave the *Princes of Issachar* a roome, a straine in *Deborah and Barakes Song*.

And in the ninth verse, the *Governors, the great Officers*, have their place, in this praise, *My heart is towards the Governors of Israel that offered themselves willingly*. It is not themselves in person; Great Officers cannot doe so; They are *Intelligences* that move great *Spheares*, but they must not bee mov'd out of them. But their glorie here is their willingnesse. That before they were inquired into, how they carried themselves in their *Offices*, before they were intimidated, or soupled with fines and ransomes, voluntarily they assisted the ³²⁰ cause of *God*. Some in the *Romane Church* write, that the *Cardinalls* of that *Church*, are so incorporated into the *Pope*, so much of his body, and so bloud of his bloud, that in a fever they may not let bloud without his leave. Truly, the great Persons and Governors in any state, are so noble and neere parts of the *King*, as that they may not bleed out in any subventions and assistances of such causes under-hand, as are not avowd by the *King*; for, it is not evident that that cause is *Gods cause*; at least not evident that that way is an assistance of *Gods cause*. But a good, and tractable, and ductile disposition, in all courses which shall lawfully bee declared to bee for ³³⁰ *Gods glorie*, then, not *Contra*, but *Præter*, not against, but besides, not in opposing, but in preventing the *Kings will*, before hee urge, before he presse, to be willing and forward in such assistances, this gives great *Persons, Governors, and Officers*, a verse in *Baraks* and *Deborahs Song*, and *Deborah and Baraks Song* is the *Word of God*.

The *Merchants* have their place in that verse too. For, (as wee said before) *those who ride upon white Asses*, (which was as honorable a transportation, as *Coaches* are now) are by *Peter Martyr* amongst ours, and by *Serarius the Jesuit* amongst others, well understood to be the *Merchants*. The greatnessse and the dignitie of the ³⁴⁰ *Merchants of the East* is sufficiently expressed in those of *Babylon*, *Thy Merchants were the great Men of the Earth*. And for the *Merchants of the West*, we know that in divers forraine parts, their *Nobilitie* is in their *Merchants*, their *Merchants* are their *Gentlemen*. And certainly, no place of the world, for Commodities and Situation,

is better disposed then this *Kingdome*, to make Merchants great. You cannot shew your greatnesse more, then in serving *God*, with part of it; you did serve before you were free; but here you do both at once, for his service is perfect freedome. I am not here to day, to beg a *Benevolence* for any particular cause on foot now: there is none; ³⁵⁰ but my Errand in this first part is, first to removre jealousies and suspitions of *Gods* neglecting his businesse, because he does it not at our appointment, and then to promove and advance a disposition, to assist his cause and his glory, in all wayes, which shall bee declar'd to conduce thereunto, whether in his body, by relieving the poore, or in his house by repairing these walls, or in his honour in employments more publique: And to assure you that you cannot have a better *debter*, a better *pay-master* then *Christ Iesus*: for all your Entayles, and all your perpetuities doe not so nayle, so hooke in, so rivet an estate in your posteritie, as to make the *Sonne of God your Sonne too*, and to give *Christ Iesus* a Childe's part, with the rest of your Children. It is noted, (perchance but out of levity) that your Children doe not keepe that which you get: It is but a calumny, or but a fascination of ill wishers. We have many happy instances to the contrarie, many noble families derived from you; One, enough to enoble a World; *Queene ELIZABETH* was the great grandchild of a *Lord Maior of London*. Our blessed *God* blesse all your Estates, and blesse your posteritie in a blessed enjoying therof; But truly it is a good way to that, amongst all your purchases, to purchase a place in *Barak and Deborahs Song*, a testimonie of the *Holy Ghost*, that you ³⁶⁰ were forward in all due times in the assistance of *Gods* cause. ³⁷⁰

That testimonie, in this Service in our Text, have the *Judges* of the Land, in the same verse too, *ye that sit in Judgement*. Certainly, Men exercised in *Judgement*, are likeliest to thinke of the *last Judgement*. Men accustomed to give *Judgement*, likeliest to thinke of the *Judgement* they are to receive. And at that last *Judgement* the *Malediction* of the left hand falls upon them that have not harbored *Christ*, not fed him, not clothed him, And when *Christ* comes to want those things in that degree, that his *Kingdome*, his *Gospell*, *himselfe* cannot subsist, where it did, without such a sustentation, an omission in ³⁸⁰ such an assistance, is much more heavie. All *Judgements* end in this, *Suum cuique, to give every one his owne*. Give *God* his owne, and

[B.C.P.
Collect in
Morning
Prayer]

[Mat.
25.41]

[Rom. 13.8]

hee hath enough; give him his owne, in his owne place, and his cause will be preferred before any Civill or Naturall obligation. But *God* requires not that: pay every other Man first, *owe nothing to any Man*; pay your *Children*, apportion them convenient portions. Pay your estimation, your reputation, live in that good fashion which your ranke and calling calls for: when all this is done, of your superfluities beginne to pay *God*, and even for that you shall have your roome in *Deborah*, and *Baraks* Song, for *Assistants*, and *Coadjutors* to him.

³⁹⁰ For a farre unlikelier sort of people, then any of these, have that in the same verse also, *Ambulantes super viam, They that walke up and downe*, idle, discourcing Men, Men of no Calling, of no Profession, of no sense of other Mens miseries, and yet they assist this cause. Men that sucke the sweet of the Earth, and the sweat of other Men; Men that pay the State nothing in doing the offices of mutuall societie, and embracing particular vocations; Men that make themselves but pipes to receive and convay, and vent rumors, but sponges to sucke in, and powre out foule water; Men that doe not spend time, but weare time, they trade not, they plough not, they preach not, they plead not, ⁴⁰⁰ but walke, and walke upon the way, till they have walked out their sixe moneths for the renuing of bands, even these had some remorse in *Gods* cause, even these got into *Deborah* and *Baraks* Song for assisting there.

And lesse; that is, *Poorer* then these: for in the *Second* verse, the people are as forward as the *Governors*, in the *Ninth*, *They offered themselves willingly*. They might offer themselves, their persons. It is likely they did; and likely that many of them had nothing to offer but themselves. And when Men of that povertie offer, part easily with that which was hardly got, how acceptable to *God*, that Sacrifice is,

⁴¹⁰ we see in *Christs* testimonie of that *Widdow*, who amongst many great givers gave her Mite, *That shee gave more then all they, because shee gave all*: which testified not onely her *Liberalitie* to *God*, but her *Confidence* in *God*, that though shee left nothing, shee should not lacke: for that right use doth Saint *Augustine* make of that example, *Divites largiuntur securi de divitiis, pauper securus de Dominio: A rich man gives, and feeles it not, feares no want, because hee is sure of a full Chest at home; A poore man gives, and feeles it as little, because hee is sure of a bountifull God in Heaven.*

Mar. 12.43

God then can worke alone; there wee set out: yet he does require assistance; that way wee went: And to those that doe assist, hee gives glory here; so farre we are gone: but yet this remaynes, that hee layes notes of blame, and reproach upon them, whom collaterall respects withdrew from this assistance. For there is a kind of reproach and increpation laide upon *Reuben* in that question, *Why abodest thou amongst the sheepfolds? The divisions of REUBEN were great thoughts of heart.* Ambition of precedencie in places of employment, greatnes of heart, and a lothnesse to be under the commaund of any other, and so an incoherence, not concurring in Counsailes and Executions, retard oftentimes even the cause of God. So is there also a reproach and increpation upon *Dan*, in that question, why did *Dan* remain in his ships? A confidence in their owne strength, a sacrificing to their owne Nets, an attributing of their securitie to their owne wisedome or power, may also retard the cause of God; that stayed *Dan* behinde.

Verse 16

Thus then they have their *thankes* that doe, thus their *markes* that doe not assist in *Gods* cause: though *God* to encourage them that doe, accomplish his worke himselfe, *They fought from heaven, The Starres in their order fought against Sisera. They fought*, sayes the *Text*, but does not tell us who; least men should direct their thankes for that which is past, or their prayers for future benefits, to any other, even in heaven, then to *God* himselfe. The stars are nam'd; It could not be feared that Men would pray to them, sacrifice to them, *Angels* and *Saints* are not named; Men might come to ascribe to them, that which appertained to *God* onely. Now these *Stars*, sayes the text, *fought in their courses, Manentes in Ordine*, they fought not disorderly. It was no *Enchantment*, no *Sorcery*, no disordering of the frame, or the powers, or the influence of these heavenly bodies, in favor of the *Israelites*; *God* would not be beholden to the *Devill*, or to *Witches*, for his best friends. It was no disorderly Enchantment, nor it was no *Miracle*, that disordered these Starres; as in *Iosuahs* time, the *Sunne* and *Moone* were disordred in their Motions; But as *Iosephus*, who relates this battaile more particularly, sayes, with whom all agree, *The naturall Influence of these heavenly bodies, at this time, had created and gathered such stormes and hayles, as blowing vehemently in the Enemies face, was the cause of this defeate:*

Verse 17

[Hab. 1.16]

[Jos. 10.12]

1 Cor. 14.40

Part 2
Division[1 Cor.
9.16]

[Mat. 5.9]

for so wee might have said, in that deliverance, which God gave us at *Sea*, *They fought from heaven, The Starres in their order fought against the Enemie*. Without conjuring, without *Miracle*, from heaven, but yet by naturall meanes, God preserved us. For that is the ⁴⁶⁰ force of that phrase, and of that maner of expressing it, *Manentes in Ordine, The Starres, containing themselves in their Order, fought*. And that phrase induces our second part, the accommodation, the occasionall application of these words: *God will not fight, nor be fought for disorderly*; And therefore in illustration, and confirmation of those words of the *Apostle*, *Let all things be done decently, and in order*, *Aquinas*, in his *Commentaries* upon that place, cites, and applies this Text, as words to the same purpose, and of the same signification. You, sayes *Saint Paul*, you who are Stars in the Church, must proceede in your warfare, decently, and in order, for the stars ⁴⁷⁰ of heaven, when they fight for the *Lord*, they doe their service, *Manentes in Ordine, containing themselves in their Order*. And so in our order, we are come to our second part. In which, we owe you by promise made at first, an *Analysis*, a distribution of the steps and branches of this part, now when wee are come to the handling thereof: And thus wee shall proceede; first, the *Warre*, which wee are to speake of here, is not as before, a *Worldly warre*, it is a *Spirituall War*: And then the *Munitiōn*, the provision for this warre, is not as before, temporall assistance of *Princes, Officers, Judges, Merchants*, all sorts of *People*, but it is the *Gospell of Christ Jesus*, and ⁴⁸⁰ the *preaching thereof*. Preaching is *Gods ordinance*, with that *Ordinance* hee fights from heaven, and batters downe all errors. And thirdly, to maintain this War, he hath made *Preachers Stars*; and *vt si non, woe be unto them, if they doe not fight, if they doe not preach*: But yet in the last place, they must fight, as the Stars in heaven doe, *In their order*, in that Order, and according to those directions, which, they, to whom it appertaines, shall give them: for that is *to fight in Order*. And in these foure branches, wee shall determine this second part.

First then we are in Contemplation of a *Spirituall warre*; now, ⁴⁹⁰ though there be a *Beati Pacifici*, a blessing reserved to *Peace-makers*, to the *Peace-maker, our Peace-Maker*, who hath sometimes effected it in some places, and always seriously and chargeably, and honour-

ably endevoured it in all places, yet there is a *spirituall Warre*, in which, *Maledicti Pacifici*; Cursed bee they that goe about to make Peace, and to make all one, The warres betweene *Christ* and *Beliall*. *Let no man sever those whom God hath joyned*, but let no Man joyne those whom God hath severed neyther, and God hath severed *Christ* and *Belial*: and that was *Gods* action, *Ponam inimicitias*; The Seed of the woman, and the Seed of the Serpent, wee and the Devill,
 500 should never have fallen out; wee agree but too well; but God hath put an enmity betweene us. God hath put *Truth* and *Falshood*, *Idolatrie* and *Sinceritie* so farre asunder, and infused such an incompatibilitie, and imprinted such an implacabilitie betweene them, as that they cannot flow into one another: And therefore, there, *Maledicti Pacifici*, It is an opposition against God, by any colourable Modifications, to reconcile opinions diametrall contrary to one another, in fundamentall things. *Day* and *Night* may joyne and meet, *In Diluculis* and *in Crepusculis*. The dawning of the day, in the Morning, and the shutting in of the day in the Evening, make day
 510 and night so much one, as sometimes you cannot tell which to call them: but *Lux & tenebræ*, light and darknes, *Midnight* and *Noone* never met, never joyned. There are points, which passions of men, and vehemence of disputation, have carried farther a sunder then needed: and these indeed have made the greatest noyse; because upon these, for the most part, depends the matter of profit: and *Beati Pacifici*, blessed were that labour, and that labourer, that could reconcile those things; and of that there might bee hope, because it is often but the Persons that fight, it is not the thing, the matters are not so different. But then there are matters so different, as that a Man may sit at
 520 home, and weepe, and wish, prayse God that hee is in the right, and pray to God for them that are in the wrong, but to think that they are indifferent, and *all one*, *Maledicti Pacifici*, hee that hath brought such a Peace, hath brought a curse upon his owne Conscience, and layd, not a *Satisfaction*, but a *Stupefaction* upon it. A *Turke* might perchance say, in scorne of us both, They call you *Heretiques*, you call them *Idolaters*, why might not *Idolaters*, and *Heretiques* agree well enough together? But a true *Christian* will never make *Contrarieties in fundamentall things indifferent*, never make foundations, and superedifications, the Word of *God*, and the Traditions of Men, all

[Mat. 19.6]

[2 Cor.

6.15]

[Gen. 3.15]

⁵³⁰ one. Every man is a little world, sayes the *Philosopher*; Every man is a little *Church* too; and in every man, there are two sides, two armies: the flesh fights against the Spirit. This is but a *Civill warre*, nay it is but a *Rebellion* indeed; and yet it can never be absolutely quenched. So every Man is also a Souldier in that great and generall warre, betweene *Christ*, and *Beliall*, the Word of *God*, and the will of man. Every man is bound to hearken to a peace, in such things as may admit peace, in differences, where men differ from men; but bound also to shut himselfe up against all overtures of peace, in such things, as are in their Nature irreconcileable, in differences ⁵⁴⁰ where men differ from *God*. That warre *God* hath kindled, and that warre must bee maintained, and maintaind by his way; and his way, and his *Ordinance* in this warre, is Preaching.

[Gen. 6.14]

If *God* had not said to *Noah*, *Fac tibi Arcam*; and when he had said so, if he had not given him a *Deseigne*, a *Modell*, a *Platforme* of that *Arke*, we may doubt credibly, whether ever man would have thought of a *Ship*, or of any such way of trade and Commerce.

[Psa. 97.1]

Shipping was Gods owne Invention, and therein *Lætentur Insulae*, as *David* sayes, *Let the Islands rejoice*. So also, if *Christ* had not said to his *Apostles*, *Ite prædictate, Goe and preach*: And when hee had

[Mar. 16.15,

16]

⁵⁵⁰ said so, said thus much more, *Qui non crediderit damnabitur, Hee that belieues not your Preaching shall bee damned*: certainly man would never have thought of such a way of establishing a kingdome, as by Preaching. No other Nation had any such Institution, as Preaching. In the *Romane State*, there was a publique Officer, *Conditor precum*, who upon great emergent occasions, deprecations of imminent dangers, or Gratulations for evident benefites, did make particular *Collects* answerable to those occasions: And some such occasionall *Panegyriques*, and gratulatory Orations for temporall benefites, they had in that state. But a fixt and constant course of

⁵⁶⁰ conteyning Subjects in their Religious and Civill duties, by preaching, onely *God* ordain'd, onely his Children enjoy'd. Christ when he sent his *Apostles*, did not give them a particular command, *Ite orate, goe and pray in the publique Congregation*; All Nations were accustomed to that; Christ made no doubt of any mans opposing, or questioning Publique Prayer; and therefore for that, he onely said, *Sic orabitis, Not go, and pray, but, when you pray, pray thus*, he

[Luk. 11.2]

instructed them in the forme; the dutie was well knowne to all before. But, for Preaching, He himselfe was anointed for that, *The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because the Lord hath anointed mee to preach:*

⁵⁷⁰ His unction was his function. Hee was anointed with that power, and hee hath anointed us with part of his owne unction: *All power is given unto me*, sayes he, *in Heaven and in Earth*; and therefore (as he adds there) *Go ye, and preach*: Because I have all power, for preaching, take yee part of my power, and preach too. For, Preaching is the power of God unto Salvation, and the savour of life unto life. When therefore the Apostle saies, *Quench not the Spirit, Nec in te, nec in alio*, sayes Aquinas; Quench it not in your selfe, by forbearing to heare the Word preached, quench it not in others, by discouraging them that doe preach. For so Saint Chrysostome, (and not he alone)

⁵⁸⁰ understood that place, *That they quench the spirit, who discoutenance preaching, and dishearten Preachers*. St. Chrysostome tooke his example from the Lampe that burnt by him, when hee was preaching; (It seemes therefore hee did preach in the afternoone) and he sayes, *you may quench this Lampe, by putting in water, and you may quench it by taking out the oyle*. So a Man may quench the spirit in himselfe, if hee smother it, suffocate it, with worldly pleasures, or profits, and he may quench it in others, if he withdraw that favour, or that helpe, which keepes that Man, who hath the spirit of Prophesie, the unction of Preaching, in a cheerefull discharge of his ⁵⁹⁰ duty. Preaching then being Gods Ordinance, to beget Faith, to take away preaching, were to disarme God, and to quench the spirit; for by that *Ordinance, he fights from heaven*.

And to maintaine that fight, hee hath made his Ministers Starrs; as they are called, in the first of the *Revelation*. And they fight against Sisera, that is, they preach against Error. They preach out of Necessitie; *Necessitie is laid upon me to preach*, saies the Apostle; and upon a heavy penalty, if they doe not; *Væ mihi si non, Woe be unto me if I doe not preach the Gospell*. Neither is that spok there with the case of a *future*, as the *Roman translation* hath it, *Si non Evangelizavero, If I do not hereafter preach; If I preach not at one time or other; If I preach not when I see how things wil go, what kind of preaching will be most acceptable: But it is Si non Evangelizem, If I preach not now; now, though I had preached yesterday; for so*

Esa. 61.1

Math. 28.
[18,] 19[Rom. 1.16]
[2 Cor.
2.16]
1 Thes. 5.19

1 Cor. 9.16

[Luk.
12.12]

Apoc. 12.4

[Psa.
139.22]

Saint *Ambrose* preached his Sermon *de sancto Latrone*, of the good Thiefe, *Hesterno die*, yesterday I told you etc. So Saint *Augustin* preached his Sermon upon *All Saints day*: And so did Saint *Bernard* his twelfth Sermon upon the *Psalm*: *Qui habitat*. Now, though I preachd but lately before; and now, though I had but late warning to preach now; So S. *Basil* preached his 2. Sermon upon the *Hexameron*, the sixe daies worke, when he had but that Morning for Meditation: and more then so, in his 2. Sermon *de Baptismo*; for, it seemes he preached that without any premeditation *Prout suggestit spiritus sanctus*. Now, though I had not time to labour a Sermon, and now, though I preach in *another mans place*; for so Saint *Augustine* preached his Sermon upon the 95. *Psalm*: where he saies, *Frater noster Severus, our brother Severus should by promise have preached here, but since he comes not, I will*. Now, that is whensoever *Gods* good people may be edified by my preaching: *Ve si non*, wo be unto me, if I doe not preach. *The Dragon drew a third part of the starrings from heaven. Antichrist* by his Persecutions, and Excommunications silenced many; all that would not magnifie him. And many amongst us, have silenc'd themselves: Abundance silences some, and lazines and Ignorance some, and some their owne indiscretion, and then they lay that upon the *Magistrate*. But God hath plac'd us in a *Church*, and under a *Head of the Church*, where none are Silenc'd, nor disountenanc'd, if being *starrings*, called to the *Ministery* of the *Gospell*, and appointed to *fight*, to preach there, they fight within the discipline and limits of this Text, *Manentes in Ordine, conteining themselves in Order*.

⁶³⁰ In this phrase, as we told you before, out of *Aquinas*, the same thing is intended, as in that place of Saint *Paul*, *Let all things bee done decently, and in Order*. That the *vulgar edition* reads, *Fiant honeste*; and then saies Saint *Ambrose*, *Honeste fit, quod cum pace fit, That is done honestly, and decently, which is done quietly, and peaceably*. Not with a peace, and indifference to contrary Opinions in fundamentall doctrines, not to shuffle religions together, and make it all one which you chuse, but a peace with persons, an abstinence from contumelies, and revilings. It is true that wee must hate *Gods* enemies with a *perfect hatred*, and it is true that Saint *Chrysostome* ⁶⁴⁰ sayes, *Odium perfectum est, odium consummatisimum*, that is not a

perfect hatred, that leaves out any of their Errors unhated. But yet a perfect hatred is that too, which may consist with perfection, and Charitie is perfection: a perfect hatred is that which a perfect, that is, a charitable man may beare, which is still to hate *Errors*, not *Persons*. When their insolencies provoke us to speake of them, we shall doe no good therein, if therein we proceed not decently, and in order. *Christ sayes of his Church: Terribilis ut Castrorum acies, It is Powerfull as an Armie; but it is ut acies ordinata, as an armie disciplin'd, and in order:* for without order, an armie is but a great Ryot;

⁶⁵⁰ and without this decencie, this peaceablenessse, this discretion, this order, zeale is but fury, and such preaching is but to the obdurbation of ill, not to the edification of good Christians. *Saint Paul* in his absence from the *Colossians*, rejoyses as much in beholding their *Order*, as in their stedfastnesse in the faith of *Christ Iesus*: Nay, if wee consider the wordes well, as *Saint Chrysostome* hath done, we shall see that it is onely their *Order* that he rejoyses in: for *Non dixit fidem, sed firmamentum fidei*, sayes that Father, *It was not their faith, but that which established their faith, that was their order, that occasioned his joy.* For when there is not an uniforme, a comely, an orderly presenting of matters of faith, faith it selfe growes loose, and loses her estimation; and preaching in the *Church* comes to bee as pleading at the Barre, and not so well: there the Counsell speakes not himselfe, but him that sent him, here wee shall preach not him who sent us, *Christ Iesus*, but our selves. *Study to bee quiet, and to doe your owne busines*, is the *Apostles* commandement to every particular man amongst the *Thessalonians*. It seemes some amongst them disobeyd that: and therefore hee writes no more to particular persons, but to the whol *Church*, in his other *Epistle*, and with more vehemence, then a smal matter would have required: *Wee command*

⁶⁷⁰ *you in the name of our Lord Iesus Christ, that you withdraw your selfe from all that walke Inordinatè, as the vulgat reads that in one place, and Inquietè, as they translate the same word, in another, disorderly, unquietly: from all such as preach suspiciously, and jealously; and be the garden never so faire, wil make the world beleeve, there is a Snake under every leafe, be the intention never so sincere, will presage, and prognosticate, and predivine sinister and mischievous effects from it. A troubled spirit is a sacrifice to God, but a trouble-*

Cant. 6.4
[3 Q, as in
Vulg.]

Col. 2.5

1 Thes. 4.11

2 Thes. 3.6

Psal. 51.17

some spirit is farre from it. I am glad that our *Ministery* is called *Orders*; that when we take this calling, we are said to take *Orders*.

⁶⁸⁰ Yours are called *Trades*, and *Occupations*, and *Mysteries*: *Law* and *Phisicke* are called *Sciences*, and *Professions*: many others have many other names, ours is *Orders*. When by his *Majesties* leave we meet in our *Convocations*, and being met, have his further leave, to treat of remedies for any disorders in the *Church*, our *Constitutions* are *Canons*, *Canons* are *Rules*, *Rules* are *Orders*: *Parliaments* determine in *Lawes*, *Judges* in *Decrees*, wee in *Orders*. And by our Service in this *Mother Church*, we are *Canonici*, *Canons*, *Regular*, *Orderly men*; not *Canonistæ*, men that know *Orders*, but *Canonici*, men that keepe them: where wee are also called *Prebendaries*, rather à *Præbendo*, ⁶⁹⁰ then à *Præbenda*, rather for giving example of obedience to *Orders*, then for any other respect. In the *Romane Church* the most disorderly men, are their men in *Orders*. I speake not of the viciousnesse of their life, I am no Judge of that, I know not that: but they are so out of all Order, that they are within Rule of no temporall Law, within jurisdiction of no Civill Magistrate, no secular Judge. They may kill *Kings*, and yet can be no *Traytors*; they assigne their reason, *Because they are no Subjects*. He that kils one of them, shall be *really hang'd*; and if one of them kill, hee shall be *Metaphorically hang'd*, he shall bee suspended. Wee enjoy gratefully, and we use modestly the *Priviledges* ⁷⁰⁰ which godly Princes, out of their pietie have affoorded us, and which their godly Successors have given us againe by their gracious continuing of them to us; but our Profession of it selfe, naturally (though the very nature of it dispose Princes to a gracious disposition to us) exempts us not from the tye of their Laws. All men are in deed, we are in *Deed* and in name too, *Men of Orders*; and therefore ought to be most ready of all others to obey.

Aquin.

Now, beloved, *Ordo semper dicitur ratione principii: Order alwayes presumes a head*, it alwayes implices some by whom wee are to be ordered, and it implices our conformitie to him. Who is that?

⁷¹⁰ *God* certainly, without all question, *God*. But between *God*, and *Man*, we consider a two-fold *Order*. One, as all creatures depend upon *God*, as upon their beginning, for their very *Being*; and so every creature is wrought upon immediately by *God*, and whether hee discerne it or no, does obey *Gods* order, that is, that which *God* hath

ordained, his purpose, his providence is executed upon him, and accomplished in him. But then the other *Order* is, not as man depends upon *God*, as upon his beginning, but as he is to be reduced and brought back to *God*, as to his end: and that is done by meanes in this world. What is that meanes? for those things which wee have now in
⁷²⁰ consideration, the *Church*. But the *body* speaks not, the *head* does. It is the *Head of the Church* that declares to us those things wherby we are to be ordered.

This the *Royall* and *religious Head* of these *Churches* within his Dominions hath lately had occasion to do. And in doing this, doth he innovate any thing, offer to doe any new thing? Do we repent that *Canon*, and *Constitution*, in which at his *Majesties* first comming we declar'd with so much alacrity, as that it was the second *Canon* we made, *That the King had the same authoritie in causes Ecclesiasticall, that the godly Kings of Iudah, and the Christian Emperors in the 730 primitive Church had?* Or are we ignorant what those *Kings of Iuda*, and those *Emperors* did? We are not, wee know them well. Take it where the power of the *Empire* may seem somewhat declin'd in *Charles the great*; we see by those *Capitularies* of his, that remain yet, what *orders* he gave in such causes; there he saies in his entrance to them, *Nemo præsumptuosum dicat; Let no man call this that I doe an usurpation, to prescribe Orders in these cases, Nam legimus quid Iosias fecerit, We have read what Iosiah did, and we know that wee have the same Authoritie that Iosiah had.* But, that *Emperor* consulted with his *Cleargie*, before he published those *Orders*. It is true,
⁷⁴⁰ he sayes he did. But he, from whom we have received these *Orders*, did more then so; His *Majesty* forbore, till a representation of some inconveniences by disorderly preaching, was made to him, by those in the highest place in our *Clergie*, and other grave and reverend *Prelates* of this *Church*; they presented it to him, and thereupon hee entred into the remedy. But that *Emperour* did but declare things constituted by other Counsells before: but yet the giving the life of execution to those Constitutions in his Dominions, was introductory, and many of the things themselves were so. Amongst them, his 70. *Capitularie* is appliable to our present case; there hee sayes, *Episcopi 750 videant, That the Bishōps take care, that all Preachers preach to the people the Exposition of the Lords Prayer: and he enjoynes them too,*

Ne quid novum, ne quid non Canonicum, That no man preach any new opinion of his owne; nay, though it bee the opinion of other learned men in other places, yet if it be Non Canonicum, not declared in the universall Church, not declared in that Church, in which he hath his station, he may not preach it to the people: And so he proceeds there to Catechistical Doctrine.

That is not new then, which the *Kings of Iudah* did, and which the Christian *Emperours* did. But it is new to us, if the *Kings* of this ⁷⁶⁰ kingdome have not done it. Have they not done it? How little the *Kings* of this kingdome did in *Ecclesiasticall* causes then, when by their connivence that power was devolvd into a forraine Prelates hand, it is pitie to consider, pitie to remember, pitie to bring into Contemplation; And yet truly even then our *Kings* did exercise more of that power, then our adversaries who oppose it, will confesse. But, since the true jurisdiction was vindicated, and reapplyed to the Crowne, in what just heighth *Henry the eight*, and those who governed his Sonnes minoritie, *Edward the sixt*, exercised that jurisdiction in *Ecclesiasticall* causes, none, that knowes their story, knowes ⁷⁷⁰ not. And, because ordinarily, we settle our selves best in the Actions, and Precedents of the late *Queene* of blessed and everlasting memory, I may have leave to remember them that know, and to tell them that know not, one act of her power and her wisedome, to this purpose. When some *Articles* concerning the falling away from Justifying grace, and other poynts that beat upon that haunt, had been ventilated, in Conventicles, and in Pulpits too, and Preaching on both sides past, and that some persons of great place and estimation in our *Church*, together with him who was the greatest of all, amongst our Clergy, had upon mature deliberation established a resolution what ⁷⁸⁰ should bee thought, and taught, held and preached in those poynts, and had thereupon sent down that resolution to be published in the Universitie, not vulgarly neither, to the people, but in a Sermon, *Ad Clerum* onely, yet her *Majestie* being informed thereof, declared her displeasure so, as that, scarse any houres before the Sermon was to have been, there was a Countermaund, an Inhibition to the Preacher for meddling with any of those poynts. Not that her *Majestie* made her selfe *Judge of the Doctrines*, but that nothing, not formerly declared to be so, ought to be declared to be the *Tenet*, and Doctrine of this

Church, her *Majestie* not being acquainted, nor supplicated to give
⁷⁹⁰ her gracious allowance for the publication thereof.

His sacred *Majestie* then, is herein upon the steps of the *Kings of Iudah*, of the *Christian Emperours*, of the *Kings of England*, of all the *Kings of England*, that embraced the Reformation, of *Queene Elizabeth* her selfe; and he is upon *his owne* steps too. For, it is a seditious calumny to apply this which is done now, to any occasion that rises but now: as though the *King* had done this now, for satisfaction of any persons at this time. For some yeares since, when hee was pleased to call the *Heads of Houses* from the University, and intimate to them the inconveniences that arose from the Preaching of such men,
⁸⁰⁰ as were not at all conversant in the *Fathers*, in the *Schoole*, nor in the *Ecclesiasticall Storie*, but had shut up themselves in a few later Writers; and gave order to those *Governours* for remedy herein, Then he began, then he laid the foundation for that, in which hee hath proceeded thus much further now, to reduce Preaching neerer to the manner of those Primitive times, when *God* gave so evident, and so remarkable blessings to mens Preaching.

Consider more particularly that which hee hath done now; His *Majestie* hath accompanied his most gracious Letter to the *most Reverend Father in God, my Lords Grace of Canterbury*, with certaine ⁸¹⁰ Directions how Preachers ought to behave themselves in the exercise of *that part* of their Ministerie. These being derived from his *Grace*, in due course to his *reverend Brethren*, the other *Bishops*, our *worthy Diocesan*, ever vigilant for the Peace and unitie of the *Church*, gave a speedy, very speedy intimation thereof, to the *Clergie* of his Jurisdiction; so did others, to whom it appertain'd so to doe in theirs. Since that, his *Majestie*, who alwaies taking good workes in hand, loves to perfect his owne works, hath vouchsafed to give some *Reasons* of this his proceeding; which being signified by him to whome the *State* and *Church* owes much, *The right Reverend Father in God, the Bishop of Lincolne, Lord Keeper of the great Seale*, and after by him also, who began at first, his *Majesties* pleasure appearing thereby, (as he is too *Great*, and too *Good* a *King* to seeke corners, or disguises, for his actions) that these proceedings should be made publique, I was not willing only, but glad to have my part therein, that as, in the feare of *God*, I have alwayes preached to you the *Gos-*

pell of Christ Jesus, who is the *God of your Salvation*; So in the testimony of a good conscience, I might now preach to you, *the Gospell of the Holy ghost*, who is the *God of peace*, of unitie, and concord.

These *Directions* then, and the *Reasons* of them, by his *Majesties* ⁸³⁰ particular care, every man in the Ministry may see and write out, in the severall *Registers Offices*, with his owne hand for nothing, and for very little, if hee use the hand of another. Perchance you have, at your convenience, you may see them. When you do, you shall see, That his *Majesties* generall intention therein is, to put a difference, between grave, and solid, from light and humerous preaching. *Origen* does so, when upon the *Epistle to the Romanes*, he sayes, *There is a great difference, Inter praedicare, & docere*: A man may teach an Auditory, that is, make them know something that they knew not before, and yet not preach; for Preaching is to make them ⁸⁴⁰ know things appertaining to their salvation. But when men doe neither, neither Teach, nor Preach, but (as his *Majestie* observes the manner to bee) *To soare in poynts too deepe, To muster up their owne Reading, To display their owne Wit, or Ignorance in medling with Civill matters, or (as his Majestie addes) in rude and undecent reviling of persons*: this is that which hath drawen downe his *Majesties* piercing Eye to see it, and his Royall care to correct it. Hee corrects it by *Christs* owne way, *Quid ab initio*, by considering how it was at first: for, (as himselfe to right purpose cites *Tertullian*) *Id verum quod primum; That is best, which was first*. Hee would there-⁸⁵⁰fore have us conversant in *Antiquitie*: For, *Nazianzen* askes that question with some scorne, *Quis est qui veritatis propugnatorem, unius diei spatio, velut e luto statuam fингit?* Can any man hope to make a good Preacher, as soone as a good Picture? In three or foure dayes, or with three or foure Books? His *Majesty* therfore cals us to look, *Quid primum*, what was first in the whole *Church*? And againe, *Quid primum*, when we received the Reformation in this *Kingdom*, by what meanes, (as his *Majestie* expresseth it) *Papistry was driven out, and Puritanisme kept out, and wee delivered from the Superstition of the Papist, and the madnesse of the Anabaptists*, as before hee ⁸⁶⁰ expresseth it: and his religious and judicious eye sees clearly, That all that Doctrine, which wrought this great cure upon us, in the Reformation, is contained in the two *Catechismes*, in the 39. *Articles*, and

in the 2. *Bookes of Homilies*. And to these, as to *Heads*, and *Abundaries*, from whence all knowledge necessary to salvation, may abundantly be deriv'd, hee directs the meditations of Preachers.

Are these new wayes? No way new: for they were *our first way in receiving Christianitie*, and *our first way in receiving the Reformation*. Take a short view of them all: as it is in the *Catechismes*, as it is in the *Articles*, as it is in the *Homilies*. First you are called backe to ⁸⁷⁰ the practise of *Catechising*: Remember what *Catechising* is; it is *Institutio viva voce*. And in the *Primitive Church*, when those persons, who comming from the *Gentiles* to the *Christian Religion*, might have beene scandalized with the outward Ceremoniall, and Rituall worship of God in the *Church*, (for Ceremonies are stumbling blockes to them who looke upon them without their Signification, and without the reason of their Institution) to avoyd that daunger, though they were not admitted to see the *Sacraments* ministred, nor the other Service of God performed in the *Church*, yet in the *Church*, they received *Instruction, Institution*, by word of ⁸⁸⁰ mouth, in the fundamentall Articles of the *Christian Religion*, and that was *Catechising*. The *Christians* had it from the beginning, and the *Iewes* had it too: for their word *Chanach*, is of that signification, *Initiare*, to enter. *Traine up a child in the way he should goe, and when he is olde, hee will not depart from it. Traine up*, sayes our Translation in the Text; *Catechise*, say our Translators in the Margin, according to the naturall force of the *Hebrew* word. And *Sepher Chinnuch*, which is *Liber Institutionum*, that is, of *Catechisme*, is a Book well knowne amongst the *Iewes*, every where, where they are now: Their Institution is their *Catechisme*. And if wee should tell ⁸⁹⁰ some men, That *Calvins Institutions* were a *Catechisme*, would they not love *Catechising* the better for that name? And would they not love it the better, if they gave mee leave to tell them that of which I had the experience. An Artificer of this Citie brought his Childe to mee, to admire (as truly there was much reason) the capacitie, the memory, especially of the child. It was but a Girle, and not above nine yeares of age, her parents said lesse, some yeares lesse; wee could scarce propose any Verse of any Booke, or Chapter of the *Bible*, but that that childe would goe forward without Booke. I began to *Catechise* this childe; and truly, shee understood nothing of the

Pro. 22.6

⁹⁰⁰ *Trinitie*, nothing of any of those fundamentall poynts which must save us: and the wonder was doubled, how she knew so much, how so little.

The *Primitive Church* discerned this necessitie of *Catechising*: And therefore they instituted a particular *Office*, a *Calling* in the *Church of Catechisers*. Which *Office*, as we see in *Saint Cyprians 42. Epistle*, that great man *Optatus* exercised at *Carthage*, and *Origen* at *Alexandria*. When *St. Augustine* tooke the *Epistle*, and the *Gospell*, and the *Psalme* of the day, for his Text to one Sermon, did he, think you, much more then paraphrase, then *Catechise*? When ⁹¹⁰ *Athanasius* makes one Sermon, and, God knowes, a very short one too, *Contra omnes Hæreses, To overthrow all Heresies in one Sermon*; did he, think you, any more then propose fundamentall *Doctrines*, which is truly the way to overthrow all *Heresies*? When *Saint Chrysostom* enters into his Sermon upon the 3. *Chapter to the Galatians*, with that preparation, *Attendite diligenter, non enim rem vulgarem pollicemur, Now hearken diligently*, sayes he, *for it is no ordinary matter that I propose*, There he proposes *Catechisticall Doctrine* of faith and works. Come to lower times, when *Chrysologus* makes sixe or seven Sermons upon the *Creed*, and not a severall Sermon upon every severall Article, but takes the whole *Creed* for his Text, in every Sermon, and scarce any of those Sermons a quarter of an houre long, will you not allowe this manner of Preaching to bee *Catechising*? Goe as lowe as can bee gone, to the *Iesuites*; and that great *Catechizer* amongst them, *Canisius*, sayes, *Nos hoc munus suscipimus*: Wee, wee *Jesuites* make *Catechising* our Profession. I doubt not but they doe recreate themselves sometimes in other matters too, but that they glory in, that they are *Catechisers*. And in that Profession, sayes hee, wee have *Saint Basil, Saint Augustine, Saint Ambrose, Saint Cyril*, in our Societie; and truly as *Catechizers*, they have; as ⁹²⁰ *State-Friers*, as *Iesuits*, they have not. And in the first Capacitie they have him, who is more then all; for as hee sayes rightly, *Ipse Christus Catechista, Christs owne Preaching was a Catechising*. I pray *God* that *Iesuites* conclusion of that *Epistle* of his, be true still; There he sayes, *Si nihil aliud, If nothing else, yet this alone should provoke us to a greater diligence in Catechising; Improbus labor, & indefessa cura, That our Adversaries, the Protestants doe spend so much time,*

as he sayes, *day and night in catechizing*. Now, if it were so then, when he writ, and bee not so still amongst us, wee have intermitted one of our best advantages: and therefore *God* hath graciously raised
 940 a blessed and a Royall Instrument, to call us back to that, which advantaged us, and so much offended the Enemy. That man may sleepe with a good Conscience, of having discharged his dutie in his Ministery, that hath preached in the forenoone, and Catechised after. *Quære*, sayes *Tertullian*, (and he sayes that with indignation) *an Idolatriam committat, qui de Idolis catechizat*: Will any man doubt, sayes he, whether that man be an Idolatrer, that catechises Children, and Servants in Idolatry? Will any man doubt, whether hee bee painfull in his Ministerie, that catechises children, and servants in the sincere Religion of *Christ Jesus*? The *Roman Church* hath still
 950 made her use of us; of our fortunes, when she governd here, and of our example, since she did not: They did, as they saw us doe; And thereupon they came to that order, in the *Councell of Trent*, *That upon Sundayes and Holydayes, they should Preach in the forenoone, and Catechise in the afternoone*; till we did both, they did neither. *Except yee become as little Children, yee shall not enter into the Kingdome of Heaven*, sayes *Christ*. Except yee, yee the people bee content at first to feed on the milke of the Gospell, and not presently to fall to gnawing of bones, of Controversies, and unrevealed Mistersies, And except yee, the Ministers and Preachers of the Gospell,
 960 descend and apply your selves to the Capacitie of little Children, and become as they, and build not your estimation onely upon the satisfaction of the expectation of great and curious Auditories, you stopp theirs, you loose your owne way to the kingdome of Heaven. Not that wee are to shut up, and determine our selves, in the knowledge of Catechisticall rudiments, but to bee sure to know them first. The *Apostle* puts us upon that progresse, *Let us leave the Principles of the Doctrine of Christ, and goe on to perfection*. Not leave at them; but yet not leave them out: endeavour to encrease in knowledge, but first make sure of the foundation. And that increase of knowledge,
 970 is royally, and fatherly presented to us, in that, which is another limne of his *Majesties directions*, the 39. *Articles*.

The *Foundation* of necessary knowledge, is in our *Catechismes*; the *Superedification*, the extention in these *Articles*. For they carry the

Mat. 18.3

Heb. 6.1

understanding, and the zeale of the ablest Man, high inough, and deepe inough. In the third Article there is an *Orthodoxe* assertion of *Christs descent into Hell*; who can go deeper? In the 17. Article there is a Modest declaration of the Doctrine of *Predestination*; who can go higher? neither doe these *Articles* onely build up *Positive Doctrine*; If the *Church* had no adversaries, that were ynoch; but they
⁹⁸⁰ imbrace *Controversies* too, in poynts that are necessarie. As in the two and twentieth Article of *Purgatorie*, of *Pardons*, of *Images*, of *Invocations*: and these not in generall onely, but against the *Romish* Doctrine of *Pardons*, of *Images*, of *Invocation*. And in the eight and twentieth Article against *Transubstantiation*, and in such tearmes, as admit no meeting, no reconciliation; but that it is *repugnant to the plaine wordes of Scripture, and hath given occasion to many Superstitions*. And in one word, we may see the purpose and scope of these *Articles*, as they were intended against the *Romane Church*, in that *Title* which they had in one Edition (in which though there
⁹⁹⁰ were some other things, that justly gave offence, yet none was given nor taken in this) That these *Articles* were conceived and published, to condemne the *Heresies of the Manichees, of the Arrians, of the Nestorians, of the Papistes, and others*. And therefore in these reasons, which his *Majestie* hath descended to give of his *Directions*, himselfe is pleased to assigne this, *That the people might bee seasoned in all the Heads of the Protestant Religion*. Not onely of the *Christian* against *Iewes, Turkes, and Infidels*, but of the *Protestant* against the *Romane Church*.

The *Foundation* is in the *Catechisme*; the *growth* and *extention*
¹⁰⁰⁰ in the *Articles*, and then the *Application* of all to particular *Auditories* in the *Homilies*: which, if his *Majestie* had not named, yet had beene imployed in his recommendation of the *Articles*. For the five and thirtieth *Article* appoynts the reading of them: both those, which were published in the time of *Edward* the sixth, and those which after. In the first *Booke*, the very first *Homilies* are, of the *Sufficiencie of Scriptures, and of the absolute necessitie of Reading them*; sufficiently opposed against that which hath been sayd in that *Church*, both of the *impertinencie*, of *Scriptures*, as not absolutely necessarie, and of the *insufficiencie* of these *Scriptures*, if *Scriptures* were necessary. And in the second *Booke*, the second *Homily* is against
¹⁰¹⁰ *sarie*.

Idolatrie; and so farre against all approaches towards it, by having any *Images* in *Churches*, as that perchance Moderat Men, would rather thinke that *Homilie* to severe in that kind, then suspect the *Homilies* of declination towards *Papistrie*. Is it the name of *Homelies* that Scandalizes them? would they have none? Saint *Cyrills 30. Paschall Sermons*, which he preached in so many severall *Easter daies*, at his *Arch-bishoprike of Alexandria*, and his *Christmas dayes Sermon* too, were ordinarily exscrib'd, and rehearsed over againe, by the most part of the Clergie of those parts: and in their Mouthes they ¹⁰²⁰ were but *Homilies*. And *Calvins Homilies* upon *Job* (as *Beza* in his Preface before them, calls them) were ordinarily repeated over againe in many places of *Fraunce*: and in their mouthes they were but *Homilies*. It is but the name, that scandalizes; and yet the name of *Homilia* and *Concio*, a *Homily* and a *Sermon*, is all one. And if some of these were spoken, and not reade, and so exhibited in the name of a *Sermon*, they would like them well inough. Certainly his *Majestie* mistooke it not, that in our *Catechismes*, In our *Articles*, in our *Homilies*, there is inough for *Positive*, inough for *Controverted Divinitie*; For that *Iesuit*, that intended to bring in the whole body of *Controverted Divinitie* ¹⁰³⁰ into his booke, (whom we named before) desired no other Subject, no other occasion to doe that, but the *Catechisme* of that Church; neither need any sober Man, that intends to handle Controversies aske more, or go further.

His *Majestie* therefore, who as he understands his dutie to *God*, so doth he his Subjects duties to him, might justly thinke, *That these so well grounded Directions, might, (as himselfe sayes) bee receiv'd upon implicite obedience*. Yet hee vouchsafes to communicate to all, who desire satisfaction, the *Reasons* that mov'd him. Some of which I have related, and all which, all may, when they will see, ¹⁰⁴⁰ and have. Of all which the Summ is, His *Royall* and his *Pastorall* care, that *by that Primitive way of Preaching, his Subjects might be arm'd against all kind of Adversaries, in fundamentall truthes*. And when he takes knowledge, *That some few Church-men, but many of the people, have made sinister constructions of his sincere intentions, As hee is grieved at the heart, (to give you his owne wordes) to see every day so many defections from our religion to Popery and Anabaptisme*; So without doubt he is grieved with much bitternes,

that any should so pervert his meaning, as to thinke, that these *Directions* either restraind the *Exercise of Preaching*, or abated the ¹⁰⁵⁰ number of *Sermons*, or made a breach to *Ignorance* and *Superstition*, of which three scandals he hath been pleased to take knowledge. What could any *Calumniator*, any *Libeller* on the other side, have imagin'd more opposit, more contrary to him, then approaches towards *Ignorance*, or *Superstition*? Let us say for him, Can so learned, so abundantly learned a *prince* be suspected to plot for *Ignorance*? And let us blesse *God*, that we heare him say now, *That he doth constantly professe himselfe an open adversary to the Superstition of the Papist* (without any milder Modification) and *to the madnesse of the Anabaptist*: And that *the preaching against either of their Doctrines is not only approved, but much commended by his royll Majestie, if it bee done without rude and undecent reviling*. If hee had affected *Ignorance* in himselfe, he would never have read so much; and if he had affected *Ignorance* in us, hee would never have writ so much, and made us so much the more learned by his Books. And if hee had had any declination towards *Superstition*, he would not have gone so much farther, then his rank and qualitie pressed him to doe, in declaring his opinion concerning *Antichrist*, as out of *Zeale*, and *zeale with knowledge* hee hath done. We have him now, (and long, long, O eternall *God*, continue him to us,) we ¹⁰⁷⁰ have him now for a *father* of the *Church*, a *Foster-father*; such a *father* as *Constantine*, as *Theodosius* was; our posterity shall have him for a *Father*, a *Classique father*; such a *father* as *Ambrose*, as *Austin* was. And when his works shall stand in the *Libraries* of our Posteritie, amongst the *Fathers*, even these *Papers*, these *Directions*, and these *Reasons* shalbe pregnant evidences for his constant zeale to *Gods truth*, and in the meane time, as arrowes shot in their eyes, that imagine so vaine a thing, as a defection in him, to their superstitution. Thus far he is from admitting *Ignorance*, and from *Superstition* thus far, which seemes to be one of their feares. And for the ¹⁰⁸⁰ other two (which concurre in one) *That these Directions should restraine the Exercise of Preaching, or abate the number of Sermons*, his *Majestie* hath declar'd himselfe to those *Reverend Fathers*, *To be so far from giving the least discouragement to solid Preaching, or to discreet and religious Preachers, or from abating the number of*

Sermons, that hee expects at their hands, that this should increase their number, by renuing upon every Sunday in the afternoon, in all Parish Churches throughout the kingdome, that primitive, and most profitable exposition of the *Catechisme*. So that heere is no abating of Sermons, but a direction of the Preacher to preach usefully, and to

¹⁰⁹⁰ edification.

And therfore, to end all, you, you whom *God* hath made *Starres* in this *Firmament*, *Preachers* in this *Church*, deliver your selves from that imputation, *The Starres were not pure in his sight*; The *Preachers* were not obedient to him in the voice of his *Lieutenant*. And you, you who are *Gods* holy people, and zealous of his glory, as you know from *St. Paul*, that *Stars differ from Stars in glory*, but all conduce to the benefit of man: So, when you see these *Stars*, *Preachers* to differ in gifts; yet, since all their ends are to advance your salvation, encourage the *Catechizer*, as well as the curious Preacher. Looke so farre

¹¹⁰⁰ towards your way to Heaven, as to the *Firmament*, and consider there, that that starre by which wee saile, and make great voyages, is none of the starres of the greatest magnitude; but yet it is none of the least neither; but a middle starre. Those *Preachers* which must save your soules, are not ignorant, unlearned, extemporal men; but they are not over curious men neither. Your children are you, and your servants are you; and you doe not provide for your salvation, if you provide not for them, who are so much yours, as that they are you. No man is sav'd as a *good man*, if he be not sav'd as a *good Father*, and as a *good Master* too, if *God* have given him a family. That so,

¹¹¹⁰ *Priest and people*, the whole Congregation, may by their religious obedience, and fighting in this spirituall warfare in their *Order*, minister occasion of joy to that heart, which hath beene grieved; in that fulnesse of joy, which *David* expresseth. *The King shall rejoice in thy strength, O Lord, and in thy salvation how greatly shall hee rejoice? Thou hast given him his hearts desire, and thou hast not withholden the request of his lipps: for the King trusteth in the Lord, and by the mercy of the most High, he shall not bee mooved.* And with that *Psalme*, a *Psalme* of Confidence in a good *King*, and a *Psalme* of Thanksgiving for that blessing, I desire that this Congregation may be dissolved; for this is all that I intended for the *Explication*, which was our first, and for the *Application*, which was the other part proposed in these wordes.

Iob 25.5

1 Cor. 15.41

Psal. 21

Number 8.

*Preached at Saint Pauls
13. October, 1622.*

JOHN 1.8. *HE WAS NOT THAT LIGHT, BUT
WAS SENT TO BEARE WITNESSE OF THAT
LIGHT.*

DIVISIO

THIS is the third time that I have *entertained* you (in a businesse of this nature, intended for Gods service, and your edification, I must not say, *troubled* you) with this Text. I begun it at *Christmas*, and in that *darke* time of the yeer told you *who*, and *what* was this *light* which *John Baptist* is denied to be. I pursued it at *Midsommer*, and upon *his owne* day, insisted upon the *person* of *John Baptist*, *who*, though *he were not this light*, *was sent to beare witnesse of this light*. And the third consideration, which (as I told you then) was not tied nor affected to any particular *Festivall*, you shall (by ¹⁰ Gods grace) have now, the *office* of *John Baptist*, his *testimony*; and in that, these two parts; first, a *problematicall part*, *why* so evident a thing as light, and *such* a light, *that* light, required testimony of *man*: and then a *dogmaticall part*, *what* testimony this *man* gives of this light. And in the first of these we shall make these two steps, first, *why any* testimony *at all*, then *why*, after so many others, *this of Iohn*.

1 Part
Cur testis
Ambrose

First then God made *light* first, *ut innotescerent omnia*, that *man* might glorifie God in seeing the creature, and *him* in it; for, *frustra fecisset*, (says the same Father) it had been to no purpose to have a world, and no light. But though light discover and manifest every ²⁰ thing else to us, and it selfe too, if all be well disposed, yet, in the

fifth verse of this chapter, there is reason enough given, why this light in our text, requires testimony; that is, *the light shines in darknesse, and the darknesse comprehends it not*; and therefore, *Propter non intelligentes, propter incredulos, propter infirmos, Sol lucernas querit*; for their sakes that are weak in their *understanding*, and not enlightened in that faculty, the *Gentiles*; for their sakes who are weake in their *faith*, that come, and heare, and receive light, but *beleeve not*; for their sakes that are perverse in their *manners*, and course of life, that heare, and *beleeve*, but practise not, *sol lucernas querit*, this light ³⁰ requires testimony. There may be light then and we not know it, because we are *asleep*; and asleep so, as *Jairus daughter* was, of whom Christ says, *the maid is not dead but asleep*. The maide was absolutely dead; but because he meant forthwith to raise her, he calls it a sleep. The *Gentiles*, in their ignorance, are *dead*; we, in our *corrupt nature*, dead, as dead as they, we cannot heare the voice, we cannot see the light; without Gods *subsequent grace*, the *Christian* can no more proceed, then the *Gentile* can beginne without his *preventing grace*. But, because, amongst us, he hath established the *Gospell*, and in the ministry and dispensation thereof, ordinary meanes for the convey-
⁴⁰ance of his farther grace, we now are but *asleep* and may wake. A sodain *light* brought into a room doth awaken some men; but yet a *noise* does it better, and a *shaking*, and a pinching. The exalting of *naturall faculties*, and good *morall life*, *inward inspirations*, and *private meditations, conferences, reading*, and the like, doe awaken some; but the testimony of the messenger of God, the *preacher*, crying according to Gods ordinance, shaking the soule, troubling the conscience, and pinching the bowells, by denouncing of Gods Judgements, these beare witnesse of the light, when otherwise men would sleep it out; and so *propter non intelligentes*, for those that lye in the ⁵⁰suddes of *nature*, and *cannot*, or of *negligence*, and *will* not come to heare, *sol lucernas*, this light requires testimony.

These testimonies, Gods ordinances, may have wakened a man, yet he may *winke*, and *covet darknesse*, and grow weary of instruction, and angry at increpation; And, as the *eye of the adulterer waiteth for the twilight*, so, the eare of this fastidious and impatient man, longeth for the end of the Sermon, or the end of that point in the Sermon, which is a thorne to his conscience; But as, if a man *wink* in a cleare

August.
Propter non intelligentes

Mat. 9.24

Propter incredulos
 Job 24.15

day, he shall for all that discerne light thorough his eylids, but not light enough to keep him from stumbling: so the most perverse man ⁶⁰ that is, either in *faith* or *manners*, that winkes against the light of *nature*, or light of the *law*, or light of *grace* exhibited in the Christian Church, the most determined *Atheist* that is, discernes through all his stubbornnesse, though not light enough to rectifie him, to save him, yet enough to condemne him, though not enough to enable him, to reade his owne name in the book of life, yet so much, as makes him afraid to read his own story by, and to make up his owne *Audit* and account with God. And doth not this light to this man need testimony, That as he does see, it is a light, so he might see, that there is warmth and nourishment in this light, and so, as well see the way to ⁷⁰ God by that light, as to see by it, that there is a God; and, this he may, if he doe not sleep nor winke; that is, not forbeare comming hither, nor resist the grace of God, always offred here, when he is here. *Propter incredulos*, for their sakes, who though they doe heare, heare not to beleieve, *sol lucernas*, this light requires testimony; and it does so too, *propter infirmos*, for their sakes, who though they do *heare*, and *beleieve*, yet doe not *Practise*.

Propter infirmos

If he neither *sleep*, nor *wink*, neither forbeare, nor resist, yet how often may you surprise and deprehend a man, whom you thinke directly to look upon such an object, yet if you aske him the quality ⁸⁰ or colour of it, he will tell you, he saw it not? That man sees as little with *staring*, as the other with *winking*. His eye hath seen, but it hath returned nothing to the *common sense*. We may pore upon *books*, stare upon *preachers*, yet if we reflect nothing, nothing upon our *conversation*, we shall still remaine under the increpation and malediction of Saint Paul, out of *Esay*, *Seeing yee shall see, and shall not perceive*; seeing and hearing shall but aggravate our condemnation, and it shall be easier at the day of Judgement, for the *deaf* and the *blinde* that never saw *Sacrament*, never heard *Sermon*, then for *us*, who have frequented both; *propter infirmos*, for their sakes, whose ⁹⁰ strength though it serve to bring them hither, and to beleieve here, doth not serve them to proceed to practise, *sol lucernas*, this light requires testimony.

Act. 28.26

Propter Relapsos

Yet, if we be neither *dead*, nor *asleep*, nor *winke*, nor *looke negligently*, but doe come to some degrees of holinesse in *practise* for a

time, yet if at any time, we put our selves in such a position and distance from this light, as that we suffer dark thick bodies to interpose, and eclipse it, that is, *sadnesse* and *dejection* of spirit, for worldly losses; nay, if we admit inordinate *sadnesse* for sinne it selfe, to eclipse this light of comfort from us, or if we suffer such other lights,
¹⁰⁰ as by the corrupt estimation of the world, have a greater splendour to come in; (As the light of *Knowledge* and *Learning*, the light of *Honour* and *Glory*, of popular *Applause* and *Acclamation*) so that this light which we speake of, (the light of former *Grace*) be darkned by the accesse of other lights, worldly lights, then also you shall finde that you need more and more Testimony of this light. God is light in the Creature, in nature; yet the *naturall Man* stumbles and falls, and lies in that ignorance. Christ bears witnesse of this light, in establishing a *Christian Church*; yet many Christians fall into *Idolatry* and *Superstition*, and lie and die in it. The Holy Ghost hath born further
¹¹⁰ witnesse of this light, and, (if we may take so low a Metaphore in so high a Mystery) hath *snuffed* this candle, mended this light, in the *Reformation* of Religion; and yet there is a damp, or a cloud of *uncharitableness*, of *neglecting*, of *defaming* one another; we deprave even the *fiery*, the *cloven tongues* of the Holy Ghost: Our tongues are *fiery* onely to the consuming of another, and they are *cloven*, onely in speaking things contrary to one another. So that still there need more witnesses, more testimonies of this light. God the Father is *Pater Luminum* the *Father* of all Lights; God the *Sonne*, is *Lumen de lumine*, Light of light, of the Father; God the *Holy Ghost* is *Lumen de luminibus*, Light of lights, proceeding both from the Father, and the Sonne; and this light the *Holy Ghost* kindles more lights in the Church, and drops a coale from the Altar upon every lamp, he lets fall beams of his Spirit upon every man, that comes in the name of God, into this place; and he sends you one man to day, which beareth witnesse of this light *ad ignaros*, that bends his preaching to the convincing of the *naturall man*, the ignorant soul, and works upon him. And another another day, that bears witnesse *ad incredulos*, that fixeth the promises of the *Gospell*, and the *merits* of Christ Jesus, upon that startling and timorous soul, upon
¹²⁰ ¹³⁰ that jealous and suspicious soul, that cannot beleeve that those promises, or those merits appertain to him, and so bends all the power

Act. 2.3

[Jas. 1.17]

of his Sermon to the binding up of such broken hearts, and faint beleevers. He sendeth another to bear witnesse *ad infirmos*, to them who though they have shaked off their sicknesse, yet are too weake to walke, to them, who though they doe beleeve, are intercepted by tentations from preaching, and his Sermon reduces them from their ill manners, who thinke it enough to come, to hear, to beleeve. And then he sendeth another *ad Relapsos*, to bear witnesse of this light to them who have relapsed into former sinnes, that the merits of

¹⁴⁰ Christ are inexhaustible, and the mercies of God in him indefatigable: As God cannot be deceived with a false repentance, so he cannot resist a true, nor be weary of multiplying his mercies in that case. And therefore thinke not that thou hast heard witnesses enow of this light, *Sermons enow*, if thou have heard all the points preached upon, which concerne thy salvation. But because *new Clouds of Ignorance*, of *Incredulitie*, of *Infirmitie*, of *Relapsing*, rise every day and call this light in question, and may make thee doubt whether thou have it or no, every day, (that is, as often as thou canst) heare more and more witnesses of this light; and bless that God, who for thy sake,

[John 5.34]

¹⁵⁰ would submit himselfe to these *Testimonia ab homine*, these Testimonies from men, and being all light himselfe, and having so many other Testimonies, would yet require the Testimony of *Man*, of *John*; which is our other branch of this first part.

A seipso

Ioh. 5.31

Christ, (who is still the light of our Text, *That light*, the *essentiall light*) had testimony enough without *John*. First, he bore witness of *himselfe*. And though he say of himself, (*If I beare witnesse of my self, my witnesse is not true*) yet that he might say either out of a *legall* and *proverbiall* opinion of theirs, that ordinarily they thought, That a witness testifying for himself, was not to be beleaved, what-¹⁶⁰ soever he said; Or, as *Man*, (which they then took him to be) he might speake it of *himselfe* out of his own opinion, that, in *Judicature* it is a good rule, that a man should not be beleaved in his own case. But, after this, and after he had done enough to make them see, that he was more then man, by multiplying of *miracles*, then he said, *though I beare witnesse of my selfe, my witnesse is true*. So the onely infallibility and unreproachable evidence of our *election*, is in the *inward word of God*, when *his Spirit beares witnesse with our Spirit, that we are the Sonnes of God*; for, if the Spirit, (the Spirit of *truth*)

8.14

[Rom. 8.16]

say he is in us, he is in us. But yet the Spirit of God is content to sub-
¹⁷⁰ mit himselfe to an ordinary triall, to be tried by God and the Countrey; he allowes us to *doubt*, and to be *afraid* of our *regeneration*, except we have the testimony of *sanctification*. Christ bound them not to *his own* testimony, till it had the seale of *workes*, or *miracles*; nor must we build upon any testimony in our selves, till other men, that see our life, testifie for us to the world.

He had also the testimony of *his Father*, (the *Father himselfe which hath sent me, beareth witnesse of me.*) But where should they see the Father, or heare the Father speak? That was all which *Philip* asked at his hands, (*Lord show us the Father, and it sufficeth us.*)

¹⁸⁰ He had the testimony of an *Angel*, who came to the shepheards so, as no where in all the Scriptures, there is such an *Apparition* expressed, (*the Angel of the Lord came upon them, and the glory of the Lord shone round about them*) but where might a man talke with this *Angel*, and know more of him? As Saint *Augustine* says of *Moses*, *Scripsit & abiit*, he hath written a little of the Creation, and he is gone; *Si hic esset, tenerem & rogarem*, if *Moses* were here, says he, I would hold him fast, till I had got him to give me an exposition of that which he writ. For, beloved, we must have such witnesses, as we may consult farther with. I can see no more by an *Angel*, then ¹⁹⁰ by *lightning*. A *star* testified of him, at his birth. But what was that star? was it any of those stars that remaine *yet*? *Gregory Nissen* thinkes it *was*, and that it onely then changed the naturall course, and motion for that service. But almost all the other Fathers thinke, that it was a light but *then created*, and that it had onely the *forme of a star*, and no more; and some few, that it was the *holy Ghost* in that forme. And, if it were one of the fixed *stars*, and remaine *yet*, yet it is not now in that office, it testifies nothing of Christ *now*. The wise men of the East testified of him, too; But *what* were they, or *who*, or *how many*, or *from whence*, were they? for, all these circumstances ²⁰⁰ have put Antiquity it selfe into more distractions, and more earnest disputations, then *circumstances* should doe. *Simeon* testified of him, who had a revelation from the *holy Ghost*, that he should not *see death, till he had seen Christ*. And so did the *Prophetess Anna, who served God, with fasting and prayer, day and night. Omnis sexus & etas*, both *sexes*, and all *ages* testified of him; and he gives examples

A Patre
John 5.37

14.8
Ab Angelo

Luke 2.9

A stella

A Magis

A Simeone
Luke 2.25
Ab Anna
Ambrose

of all, as it was easie for him to doe. Now after all these testimonies, from *himselfe*, from the *Father*, from the *Angel*, from the *star*, from the *wise men*, from *Simeon*, from *Anna*, from all, what needed the testimony of *Iohn*? All those witnesses had been *thirty years before*

²¹⁰ *Iohn* was cited for a witnesse, to come from the wildernesse and preach. And in *thirty years*, by reason of his obscure and retired life, in his father *Iosephs* house, all those personall testimonies of Christ might be forgotten; and, for the most part, those witnesses onely testified that he was *borne*, that he was come into the world, but for all their testimony, he might have been gone out of the world long. Before this, he might have perished in the generall flood, in that flood of innocent blood, in which *Herod* drowned all the young children of that Countrey. When therefore Christ came forth to *preach*, when he came to call *Apostles*, when he came to settle a *Church*, to establish ²²⁰ meanes for our ordinary salvation, (by which he is the light of our text, the *Essentiall light* shining out in his *Church*, by the supernaturall light of *faith* and *grace*) then he admitted, then he required *Testimonium ab homine*, testimony from man. And so, for our conformity to him, in using and applying those meanes, which convay this light to us, in the *Church*, we must doe so too; we must have the seale of *faith*, and of the *Spirit*, but this must be in the testimony of men; still there must be that done by us, which must make men testifie for us.

*Scripturas
esse*

Every Christian is a state, a common-wealth to *himselfe*, and in ²³⁰ him, the *Scripture* is his *law*, and the *conscience* is his *Judge*. And though the *Scripture* be inspired from *God*, and the *conscience* be illumined and rectified by the *holy Ghost* immediately, yet, both the *Scriptures* and the *Conscience* admit *humane arguments*. First, the *Scriptures* doe, in all these three respects; first that there are *certayne Scriptures*, that are the revealed will of *God*. Secondly, that these books which we call *Canonicall*, are those *Scriptures*. And lastly, that this and this is the true sense and meaning of such and such a place of *Scripture*. First, that there is a manifestation of the will of *God* in certain *Scriptures*, if we who have not power to infuse *Faith* into ²⁴⁰ men, (for that is the work of the *Holy Ghost* onely) but must deal upon the *reason* of men, and satisfie that, if we might not proceed, *per testimonia ab homine*, by *humane Arguments*, and argue, and

infer *thus*, That if God will save man for worshipping him, and damne him for not worshipping him, so as he will be worshipped, certainly God hath revealed to man, how he will be worshipped, and that in some visible, in some permanent manner in *writing*, and that that writing is *Scripture*, if we had not these testimonies, these necessary consequences derived even from the *naturall reason* of man to convince men, how should we convince them, since our way is not
²⁵⁰ to create *Faith*, but to satisfie *reason*? And therefore let us rest in this testimony of men, that all *Christian* men, nay *Jewes* and *Turkes* too, have ever beleaved, that there are certain *Scriptures*, which are the revealed will of God, and that God hath manifested to us, in those *Scriptures*, all that he requires at our hands for *Faith* or *Manners*. Now, which are those *Scriptures*?

As for the whole body intirely together, so for the particular limbs and members of this body, the *severall books* of the *Bible*, we must accept *testimonium ab homine*, humane Arguments, and the testimony of men. At first, the *Jewes* were the *Depositaries* of Gods
²⁶⁰ *Oracles*; and therefore the first *Christians* were to aske the *Jewes*, *which books* were those *Scriptures*. Since the *Church* of God is the *Master* of those *Rolls*, no doubt but the *Church* hath *Testimonium à Deo*, The *Spirit* of God to direct her, in declaring *what Books* make up the *Scripture*; but yet even the *Church*, which is to deal upon men, proceedeth also *per testimonium ab homine*, by humane Arguments, such as may work upon the *reason* of man, in declaring the *Scriptures* of God. For the *New Testament*, there is no question made of any *Book*, but in *Conventicles* of *Anabaptists*; and for the *Old*, it is testimony enough that we receive all that the *Jews* received. This
²⁷⁰ is but the testimony of man, but such as prevails upon every man.

It is somewhat boldly said, (not to permit to our selves any severer, or more bitter animadversion upon him) by a great man in the *Roman Church*, that perchance the *book* of *Enoch*, which *S. Jude* cites in his *Epistle*, was not an *Apocryphal* *book*, but *Canonicall Scripture* in the time of the *Jews*. As though the *holy Ghost* were a time-server, and would sometimes issue some things, for present satisfaction, which he would not avow nor stand to after; as though the *holy Ghost* had but a *Lease* for certain years, a determinable estate in the *Scriptures*, which might expire, and he be put from his evi-

*Hos eos lib-
bros esse*

Melch.
Canus
[Jude 14]

²⁸⁰ dence; that that book might become none of *his*, which was his before. We therefore, in receiving these books for *Canonicall*, which we do, and in post-posing the *Apochryphall*, into an inferior place, have *testimonium ab homine*, testimony from the People of God, who were, and are the most competent, and unreproachable witnesses herein: and we have *Testimonium ab inimico*, testimony from our adversary himself, *Perniciosius est Ecclesiae librum recipere pro sacro, qui non est, quam sacrum rejicere*, It is a more pernicious danger to the Church, to admit a book for *Canonicall*, which is *not so*, then to reject one that is so. And therefore, *ne turberis novitie*, (saith another

Idem ex
Aquin.

Cajetan

²⁹⁰ great Author of theirs) Let no young student in Divinity be troubled, *si alicubi repererit, libros istos suppeditari inter Canonicos*, if he finde at any time, any of these books reckned amongst the Canonical, *nam ad Hieronymi limam, verba Doctorum & Conciliorum reducenda*, for saith he, *Hieroms* file must passe over the Doctors, and over the Councils too, and they must be understood, and interpreted according to *S. Hierom*. Now this is but *testimonium ab homine*, *S. Hierom*'s testimony, that prevailed upon *Cajetan*, and it was but *testimonium ab homine*, the testimony of the *Jews*, that prevailed upon *S. Hierom* himself.

*Sensus
locorum*

³⁰⁰ It is so for the whole body, *The bible*; it is so for all the limbs of this body, *every particular book of the Bible*; and it is so, for the soul of this body, the true *sense of every place*, of every book thereof; for, for that, (the sense of the place) we must have *testimonium ab homine*, the testimony, that is, the interpretation of other men. Thou must not rest upon thy self, nor upon any private man. *John* was a witnesse that had witnesses, the *Prophets* had prophesied of *John Baptist*. The men from whom we are to receive testimony of the sense of the Scriptures, must be men that have witnesses, that is, a visible and outward *calling in the Church of God*. That no sense be ever admitted,

³¹⁰ that derogateth from God, that makes him a false, or an impotent, or a cruell God, That every contradiction, and departing from the Analogy of *Faith*, doth derogate from God, and divers such grounds, and such inferences, as every man confesses, and acknowledges to be naturally and necessarily consequent, these are *Testimonia ab homine*, Testimonies that passe like currant money, from man to man, obvious to every man, suspicious to none. Thus it is in the generall; but then,

when it is deduced to a more particular triall, (what is the sense of such or such a place) when Christ saith, *Scrutamini Scripturas, search the Scriptures, non mittit ad simplicem lectionem, sed ad scrutationem exquisitam*, It is not a bare *reading*, but a diligent *searching*, that is enjoyned us. Now they that will search, must have a warrant to search; they upon whom thou must rely for the sense of the Scriptures, must be sent of God by his Church. Thou art robbed of all, devested of all, if the Scriptures be taken from thee; Thou hast no where to search; blesse God therefore, that hath kept thee in possession of that sacred Treasure, the *Scriptures*; and then, if any part of that treasure ly out of thy reach, or ly in the dark, so as that thou understandest not the place, *search*, that is, apply thy self to them that have warrant to *search*, and thou shalt lack no light necessary for thee.

³³⁰ Either thou shalt understand that place, or the not understanding of it shall not be imputed to thee, nor thy salvation hindred by that Ignorance.

It is but to a woman that Saint Hierome saith, *Ama Scripturas, & amabit te Sapientia*, Love the Scriptures, and Wisdome will love thee: The weaknesse of her Sex must not avert her from *reading* the Scriptures. It is instruction for a *Childe*, and for a *Girle*, that the same Father giveth, *Septem annorum discat memoriter Psalterium*, As soone as she is *seaven yeaeres old*, let her learn all the *Psalmes* without book; the tendernes of her age, must not avert her from the ³⁴⁰ *Scriptures*. It is to the whole Congregation, consisting of all sorts and sexes, that Saint Chrysostome saith, *Hortor, & hortari non desinam*, I alwayes doe, and alwayes will exhort you, *ut cum domi fueritis, assidue lectioni Scripturarum vacetis*, that at home, in your owne houses, you accustome your selves to a dayly reading of the Scriptures. And after, to such men as found, or forced excuses for reading them, he saith with compassion, and indignation too, *O homo, non est tuum Scripturas evolvere, quia innumeris curis distraheris?* Busie man, belongeth it not to thee to study the Scriptures, because thou art oppressed with worldly businesse? *Imò magis tuum est*, saith he, ³⁵⁰ therefore thou hadst the more need to study the Scriptures; *Illi non tam egent, &c.* They that are not disquieted, nor disordered in their passions, with the cares of this world, doe not so much need that supply from the Scriptures, as you that are, doe. It is an Authour that

John 5.39

Hierom

Idem

Chrysost.

Corn.

Agrip.

Escalante

August.

Gregor.

Hierom

1 Cor. 1.11

lived in the obedience of the *Romane Church*, that saith, the Councell of *Nice* did decree, That every man should have the Bible in his house. But another Authour in that Church saith now, *Consilium Chrysostomi Ecclesiae nunc non arridet*; The Church doth not now

like *Chrysostomes* counsell, for this generall reading of the Scriptures, *Quia etsi ille locutus ad plebem, plebs tunc non erat hæretica*, Though

³⁶⁰ Saint *Chrysostome* spoke that to the people, the people in his time were not an Hereticall people: And are the people in the Roman Church now an Hereticall people? If not, why may not they pursue

Saint *Chrysostomes* counsel, and reade the Scriptures? Because they

are dark? It is true, in some places they are dark; purposely left so by

the Holy Ghost, *ne semel lectas fastidiremus*, lest we should think

we had done when we had read them once; so saith S. *Gregory* too,

In plain places, *fami occurrit*, he presents meat for every stomach; In

hard and dark places, *fastidia detergit*, he sharpens the appetite:

Margarita est, & undique perforari potest; the Scripture is a Pearl,

³⁷⁰ and might be bored through every where. Not every where by *thy self*; there may be many places, which thou of thy self canst not understand; not every where by *any other man*; no not by them, who have warrant to search, Commission from God, by their calling, to interpret the Scriptures, not every where by the *whole Church*, God hath reserved the *understanding of some places of Scripture, till the time come for the fulfilling of those Prophecies*; as many places of the *Old Testament* were not understood, till Christ came, in whom they were fulfilled. If therefore thou wilt needs know, whether, when

Saint *Paul* took his information of the behaviour of the *Corinthians*,

³⁸⁰ from those of *Chloe*, whether this *Chloe*, were a *woman*, or a *place*, the Fathers cannot satisfie thee, the latter Writers cannot satisfie thee, there is not *Testimonium ab homine*, no such humane Arguments as can determine thee, or give thee an Acquittance; the greatest pillars whom God hath raised in his Church, cannot give a satisfaction to thy curiosity. But if the Doctrine of the place will satisfie thee, which Doctrine is, that S. *Paul* did not give credit to light rumors against the *Corinthians*, nor to clandestine whisperers, but tells them who accused them, and yet, as well as he loved them, he did not stop his eares against competent witnesses, (for he tells them, they stood

³⁹⁰ accused, and by whom) then thou maist *bore this pearle thorough*,

and make it fit for thy use, and wearing, in knowing so much of Saint Pauls purpose therein, as concerns thy edification, though thou never know, whether *Chloe* were a *Woman*, or a *Place*. *Tantum veritati obstrepit adulter sensus, quam corruptor stylus*; a false interpretation may doe thee as much harme, as a false translation, a false Commentary, as a false copy; And therefore, forbearing to make any interpretation at all, upon dark places of Scripture, (especially those, whose understanding depends upon the future fulfilling of prophecies) in places that are clear, and evident thou maist be thine own
⁴⁰⁰ interpreter; In places that are more obscure, goe to those men, whom God hath set over thee, and either they shall give thee that sense of the place, which shall satisfie thee, by having the sense thereof, or that must satisfie you, that there is enough for your salvation, though that remaine uninterpreted. And let this *Testimonium ab homine*, this testimony of man establish thee for the Scripture, that there is a Scripture, a certaine book, that is the word, and the revealed will of God; That these books which we receive for *Canonicall*, make up that book; And then, that this and this is the true sense of every place, which the holy Ghost hath opened to the present understand-
⁴¹⁰ ing of his Church.

We said before, that a Christian being a Common-wealth to himselfe, the *Scripture* was his *law*, (and for that law, that Scripture, he was to have *Testimonium ab homine*, the testimony of man) And then, his *Conscience* is his *Judge*, and for that he is to have the same testimony too. Thou must not rest upon the testimony and suggestions of thine owne conscience; *Nec illud de trivio paratum habere*, thou must not rest in that vulgar saying, *sufficit mihi &c.* As long as mine owne Conscience stands right, I care not what all the world say. Thou must care what the world says, and study to have the
⁴²⁰ approbation and testimony of good men. Every man is enough defamed in the generall depravation of our whole *nature*: *Adam* hath cast an infamy upon us all: And when a man is defamed, it is not enough that he purge himselfe by *oath*, but he must have *compurgators* too: other men must sweare, that they beleeve he sweares a truth. Thine owne conscience is not enough, but thou must satisfie the world, and have *Testimonium ab homine*, good men must thinke thee good. A conscience that admits no search from others, is *cauteri-*

Tertull.

Conscientia

Hierom

zata, burnt *with a hot Iron*; not cured, but *seared*; not at peace, but stupefied. And when in the verse immediately before our text, it is
⁴³⁰ said, *That John came to beare witnesse of that light*, it is added, that *through him*, (that is, through that man, through *John*, not through it, through that light) that *through him all men beleeve*. For though it be efficiently the operation of the light it selfe, (that is, Christ himselfe) that all men beleeve, yet the holy Ghost directs us to that that is nearest us, to this testimony of man, that instrumentally, ministerially works this belief in men. If then for thy *faith*, thou must have *testimonium ab homine*, the testimony of men, and maist not beleeve as no man but thy selfe beleeves, much more for thy *manners*, and conversation. Thinke it not enough to satisfie thy self, but satisfie
⁴⁴⁰ *good men*; nay *weake men*; nay *malicious men*: till it comes so far, as that for the desire of satisfying man, thou leave God unsatisfied, endeavor to satisfie all. God must waigh down all; thy selfe and others; but as long as thy selfe only art in one balance, and other men in the other, let this preponderate; let the opinion of other men, waigh downe thine owne opinion of thy selfe. 'Tis true, (but many men flatter themselves too far, with this truth) that it is a sin, to do any thing in *Conscientiâ dubiâ*, when a man doubts whether he may doe it, or no, and in *Conscientiâ scrupulosâ*, when the conscience hath received any single scruple, or suspicion to the contrary, and so too *in*
⁴⁵⁰ *conscientiâ opinante*, in a conscience that hath conceived, but an *opinion*, (which is far from a debated, and deliberate determination) yea *in conscientiâ errante*, though the conscience be in an error, yet it is sin to do aright against the conscience; but then, as it is a sin, to do against the conscience labouring under any of these infirmities, so is it a greater sin, not to labour to recover the conscience, and devest it of those scruples, by *their* advise, whom God hath indued with knowledg, and power, for that purpose. For, (as it is *in civill Iudicature*) God refers causes to *them*, and according to their *reports*, Gods ordinary way is to decree the cause, to *loose* where they loose, to *bind*
⁴⁶⁰ where they bind. Their imperfections, or their corruptions God knowes how to punish in them; but thou shalt have the recompense of thy humility and thy obedience to his ordinance, in hearkning to *them*, whom he hath set over thee, for the rectifying of thy conscience. Neither is this to erect a *parochiall papacy*, to make every minister a

Pope in his own parish, or to re-enthral you to a necessity of communicating all your sinnes, or all your doubtfull actions to *him*; God forbid. God of his goodnesse hath delivered us, from that bondage, and butchery of the conscience, which our Fathers suffered from *Rome*, and *Anathema*, and *Anathema Maran-atha*, cursed be he till
470 the Lord comes, and cursed when the Lord comes, that should go about to bring us in a relapse, in an *eddy*, in a whirlpoole, into that disconsolate estate, or into any of the pestilent errors of that Church. But since you think it no diminution to you, to consult with a *Physician* for the state of your body, or with a *Lawyer* for your Lands, since you are not borne, nor grown good Physicians, and good Lawyers, why should you think your selves born, or grown so good *Divines*, that you need no counsell, in doubtfull cases, from other men? And therefore, as for the *Law* that governs us, that is, the *Scripture*, we go the way that Christ did, to receive the testimony of
480 man, both for the *body*, that Scriptures there are, and for the limbs of that body, that these books make up those Scriptures, and for the soule of this body, that this is the sense of the holy Ghost in that place; so, for our *Judge*, which is the *conscience*, let that be directed before hand, by their advise whom God hath set over us, and setled, and quieted in us, by their testimony, who are the witnesses of our conversation. And so we have done with our Problematicall part; we have asked and answered both these questions, Why this light requires *any* testimony, (and that is because exhalations, and damps, and vapours arise, first from our *ignorance*, then from our *incredulity*,
490 after from our *negligence* in *practising*, and lastly, from our *slipperiness in relapsing*, and therefore we need more and more attestations, and remembrances of this light) and the other question, Why after so many *other* testimonies, (from *himself*, from his *Father*, from the *Angell*, from the *Star*, from the *Magi*, from *Simeon*, from *Anna*, from many, many, very many more) he required this testimony of *John*; and that is, because all those other witnesses had testified *long before*, and because *God* in all matters belonging to *Religion* here, or to *salvation* hereafter, refers us to *man*, but to man sent, and ordained by God, for our direction, that we may do well; and to the testimony
500 of *good men*, that we have done well. And so we passe to our *dogmaticall* part, *what his testimony was*; what *John Baptist* and his

1 Cor. 16.22

successors in preaching, and preparing the ways of Christ, are sent to do; he was sent to beare witnesse of that light.

2 Part

Princes which send Ambassadors, use to give them a *Commission*, containing the generall scope of the businesse committed to them, and then *Instructions*, for the fittest way to bring that businesse to effect. And upon due contemplation of both these, (his *Commission*, and his *Instructions*) arises the use of the Ambassadors judgement and discretion, in making his *Commission*, and his *Instructions*,
⁵¹⁰ (which do not always agree in all points, but are often various, and perplexed) serve most advantagiously towards the ends of his negotiation. *John Baptist* had both; therefore they minister three considerations unto us; first, his *Commission*, what *that* was; and then his *Instructions*, what *they* were; and lastly, the *execution*, how he proceeded therein.

Commissio

Esa. 40.3

Mark 1.3

His *Commission* was drawn up, and written in *Essay*, and recorded and entred into Gods Rolls by the Evangelists. It was, *To prepare the way of the Lord, to make streight his paths*, that therefore *every valley should be exalted, every mountaine made low*; and all this he
⁵²⁰ was to *cry out*, to make them inexcusable, who contemne the outward Ministry, and relie upon private inspirations. This *Commission* lasts during Gods pleasure; and Gods pleasure is, that it should last to the end of the world; Therefore are *we* also joyned in *Commission* with *John*, and we *cry out* still to you to all those purposes.

*Præparare
viam*

First, that you *prepare the way of the Lord*. But when we bid you do so, we do not meane, that this preparing or pre-disposing of your selves, is *in your selves*, that you can prevent Gods *preventing grace*, or mellow, or supple, or fit your selves for the entrance of that grace, by any *naturall faculty* in your selves. When we speak of a *co-operation*,
⁵³⁰ a joint working with the grace of God, or of a *post-operation*, an after working upon the virtue of a former grace, this *co-operation*, and this *post-operation* must be mollified with a good concurrent cause with that grace. So there is a good sense of *co-operation*, and *post-operation*, but *præoperation*, that we should work, *before* God work upon us, can admit no good interpretation. I could as soon beleeve that I had a being before God was, as that I had a *will* to good, before God moved it. But then, God having made his way into you, by his *preventing grace*, *prepare that way*, not *your way*,

but *his way*, (sayes our Commission) that is, that way that he hath
 540 made in you, prepare that by forbearing and avoiding to cast new
 hinderances in that way. In *sadnesse* and *dejections* of spirit, seek not
 your comfort in *drinke*, in *musique*, in *comedies*, in *conversation*; for,
 this is but a preparing a way of your owne. To prepare the *Lords way*,
 is to look, and consider, what way the Lord hath taken, in the like
 cases, in the like distresses with other servants of his, and to prepare
 that way in thy self, and to assure thy selfe, that God hath but practised
 upon *others*, that he might be perfect when he comes to *thee*,
 and that he intends to thee, in these thy tribulations, all that he hath
 promised to all, all that he hath already performed to any one. Pre-
 550 pare *his way*; apply that way, in which he hath gone to *others*, to
 thy self.

And then, by our Commission we cry out to you, *to make streight his paths*. In which we do not require, that you should absolutely rectifie all the deformities and crookednesses, which that *Tortuositas Serpentis*, the winding of the old Serpent hath brought you to; for, now the streme of our corrupt nature, is accustomed to that crooked channell, and we cannot divert that, we cannot come to an absolute directnesse, and streightnesse, and profession in this life; and, in this place, the holy Ghost speaks but of *a way*, a path; not of *our rest* in
 560 the end, but of our labour in the way. Our Commission then is not to those *sinlesse* men, that think they have nothing for God to *forgive*; But, when we bid you make streight *his paths*, (as before we directed you, to take knowledge what *his wayes* towards *others* had been) so here we intend, that you should observe, which is the Lords path into you, by what way he comes oftnest into you, who are his *Temple*, and do not lock that doore, do not pervert, do not crosse, do not deface that path. The ordinary way, even of the *holy Ghost*, for the conveying of *faith*, and supernaturall graces, is (as the way of worldly knowledge is) by the *sense's*: where his way is by the *ear*,
 570 by hearing his word *preached*; do not thou crosse that way of his, by an inordinate delight, in hearing the eloquence of the preacher; for, so thou hearest the man, and not *God*, and goest *thy way*, and not *his*. God hath divers wayes into divers men; into some he comes at noone, in the sunshine of prosperity; to some in the *dark* and *heavy* clouds of adversity. Some he affects with the musick of the Church,

*Rectas facite
semitas Dei*
Tertull.

some with some particular Collect or Prayer; some with some passage in a Sermon, which takes no hold of him, that stands next him. Watch the way of the Spirit of God, into thee; that way which he makes his path, in which he comes oftnest to thee, and by which thou ⁵⁸⁰ findest thy self most affected, and best disposed towards him, and pervert not that path, foule not that way. *Make straight his paths*, that is, keepe them *straight*; and when thou observest, which is his path in thee, (by what means especially he workes upon thee) meet him in that path, embrace him in those meanes, and alwayes bring a facile, a fusil, a ductile, a tractable soule, to the offers of *his grace*, in his way.

Omnis

Vallis

exaltetur

Exo. 24.18

Deut. 32.49

Matth. 17.2

⁶⁰⁰*14.23*

Acts 1.10

John 12.32

Our Commission reaches to the exalting of your *valleys*, *Let every valley be exalted*; In which, we bid you not to raise your selves in this world, to such a *spirituall height*, as to have no regard to this world, ⁵⁹⁰ to your *bodies*, to your *fortunes*, to your *families*. Man is not all soule, but a body too; and, as God hath married them together in thee, so hath he commanded them mutuall duties towards one another; and God allowes us large uses of *temporall blessings*, and of recreations too. To *exalt valleyes*, is not to draw up flesh, to the height of spirit; that cannot be, that should not be done. But it is to draw you so much towards it, as to consider (and consider with an application) that the very *Law*, which was but the *schoolmaster* to the *Gospell*, was given upon a *mountaine*; That *Moses* could not so much as see the Land of promise, till he was brought up into a *mountaine*; That the inchoation of Christs glory, which was his *transfiguration*, was upon a *mountaine*; That his conversation with God in prayer; That his returne to his eternall Kingdom by his *ascension*, was so too, from a *mountaine*; even his exinanition, his evacuation, his lowest humiliation, his crucifying was upon a *mountaine*; and he calls, even that *humiliation*, an *exaltation*, *Si exaltatus, If I be exalted, lifted up*, sayes Christ, *signifying what death he should die*. Now, if our depressions, our afflictions be exaltations, (so they were to Christ, so they are to every good Christian) how far doth God allow us, an *exalting of our vallies*, in a considering with a *spirituall boldnesse*, ⁶¹⁰ the height and dignity of *mankind*, and to what glory God hath created us. Certainly man may avoid as many sinnes, by this *exalting his vallies*, this considering the height and dignity of his nature, as

by the humblest meditations in the world. For, upon those words of *Job, Manus tuae fecerunt me*, Saint *Gregory* says, *Misericordiae judicis, dignitatem suae conditionis opponit*; *Job* presents the dignity of his creation, by the hand of God, as an inducement why God should regard him; It is not his valley, but his mountaines, that he brings into Gods sight; not that dust which God took into his hands, when he made him, but that person which the hands of God had made of that ⁶²⁰ dust. Man is an abridgement of all the world; and as some *Abridgements* are greater, then some other authors, so is one man of more dignity, then all the earth. And therefore *exalt thy vallies*, raise thy selfe above the pleasures that this earth can promise. And above the sorrowes, it can threaten too. A painter can hardly diminish or contract an Elephant into so little a forme, but that that Elephant, when it is at the least, will still be greater then an Ant at the life, and the greatest. Sinne hath diminished man shrowdly, and brought him into a narrower compasse; but yet, his *naturall immortality*, (his soule cannot dye) and his *spirituall possibility*, even to the last gaspe, ⁶³⁰ of spending that immortality in the kingdome of glory, and living for ever with God, (for otherwise, our immortality were the heaviest part of our curse) exalt this valley, this clod of earth, to a noble heighth. How ill husbands then of this dignity are we by *sinne*, to forfeit it by submitting our selves to inferior things? either to *gold*, then which every worme, (because a worme hath life, and gold hath none) is in nature, more estimable, and more precious; Or, to that which is lesse then gold, to *Beauty*; for there went neither labour, nor study, nor cost to the making of that; (the Father cannot diet himselfe so, nor the mother so, as to be sure of a faire child) but it is ⁶⁴⁰ a thing that hapned by chance, wheresoever it is; and, as there are Diamonds of divers waters, so men enthrall themselves in one clime to a black, in another to a white beauty. To that which is lesse then *gold*, or *Beauty, voice, opinion, fame, honour*, we sell our selves. And though the good opinion of good men, by good ways, be worth our study, yet popular applause, and the voice of inconsiderate men, is too cheape a price to set our selves at. And yet, it is hardly got too; for as a ship that lies in harbour within land, sometimes needs most of the points of the Compasse, to bring her forth: so if a man surrender himselfe wholly to the opinion of other men, and have not his

⁶⁵⁰ *Criterium*, his touchstone within him, he will need both *North* and *South*, all the points of the *Compass*, the breath of all men; because, as there are contrary Elements in every body, so there are contrary factions in every place, and when one side cries him up, the other will deprese him, and he shall, (if not *shipwrack*) lie *still*. But yet we doe forfeit our dignity, for that which is lesse then all, then *Gold*, then *Beauty*, then *Honour*; for *sinne*; sinne which is but a privation, (as *darknesse* is but a privation) and privations are nothing. And therefore exalt every valley, consider the dignity of man in his *nature*, and then, in the *Sonne of God* his assuming that nature, which gave

⁶⁶⁰ it a new dignity, and this will beget in thee a *Pride* that God loves, a valuing of thy selfe above all the temptations of this world.

Omnis
mons
humiliabitur
 [Isa. 40.4]

[Psa. 45.2]

In Deserto

But yet exalt this valley temperately, consider and esteem this dignity modestly, for our Commission goes farther, not onely to the exalting of every valley, but, *Omnis mons humiliabitur, every mountain must be made low*: which is not to bring our mountainous, and swelling affections, and passions, to that flatnesse, as that we become stupid, and insensible. Mortification is not to kill nature, but to kill sinne. Bring therefore your *Ambition* to that bent, to covet a place in the kingdome of heaven, bring your *anger*, to flow into *zeale*, bring your *love* to enamour you of that face, which is *fairer then the children of men*, that face, on which the Angels desire to look, Christ Jesus, and you have brought your mountains to that lownesse, which is intended, and required here.

Now, this Commission, *John Baptist* was, and we are, to publish *in deserto*, in the Desert, in the wildernes; that is, as Saint *Hierome* notes, not in *Jerusalem*, in a tumultuary place, a place of distraction, but in the *Desert*, a place of solitude, and retirednesse. And yet this does not imply an abandoning of society, and mutuall offices, and callings in the world, but onely informes us, that every man is to have a *Desert in himself*, a retiring into himself, sometimes of emptying himself of worldly businesses, and that he spend some houres in such solitudes, and lay aside, (as one would lay aside a garment) the *Lawyer*, the *Physician*, the *Merchant*, or whatsoever his profession be, and say, *Domine hic sum*, Lord, I am here, I, he whom thou madest, and such as thou madest him, not such as the world hath made me, *Hic sum*, I am here, not where the affairs of the world

scatter me, but *here*, in this retirednesse, Lord, *I am here, command what thou wilt*; in this retirednesse, in this solitude, (but is not a Court, is not an Army, is not a Fair a solitude, in respect of this association, when God and a good soul are met?) but in this home solitude, in this home Desert, are we commanded to publish this Commission, as the fittest time to make impressions of all the parts thereof, *Prepare the way of the Lord, make streight his paths, exalt your vallies, and bring down your mountains*. And this was *John Baptists* Commission, *What to do*; And then he had *Instructions* with his Commission, *how to doe it*; which is another consideration.

His Commission was long before in *Esay*, so he was *Legatus natus*, born an Ambassadour; his *Instructions* were delivered to him by God immediately, when *The Word of God came unto John, in the 690 wildernessee*. Princes oftentimes vary their Instructions from their Commissions, and to perplex their Ambassadors. God proceeded with *John Baptist*, and doth with us directly. Our Commission is to conform you to him, our Instructions are to doe that, that way, *By preaching the Baptisme of Repentance, for the remission of sinnes*. It is, in a word, by the *Word and Sacraments*. First, he sends us not as *Spies*, to lie, and learn, nor to learn and lie; but to deale apertly, manifestly, to publish, to preach; which as it forbids forcible and violent pressing the Conscience by secular or Ecclesiasticall authority, so it forbids clandestin and whispering *Conventicles*; It is a *Preaching*, 700 a working by instructing and informing the understanding; it is a *Preaching*, a publique avowing of Gods Ordinance, in a right Calling. He gives us not our Instructions to offer Peace and reconciliation to all, and yet he not mean it to all; He bids us preach unto all, he bids all *hearers repent*, and he allowes us to set to his seals of reconciliation, to all that come as penitents. He knowes *who will*, and *who will not repent*, we doe not; but both he knowes, and so doe we, that *all may*, so far as that, if they doe not, they finde enough in themselves to *condemne* themselves, and to discharge God and us. Our Instructions are to preach, that is our way, and to preach *Repentance*; 710 there begin you in your own bosoms: He that seeks upwards to a River, is sure to finde the head; but he that upon every bubling spring, will think to finde a River, by that may erre many wayes. If thou repent truely, thou art sure to come up to *Gods Decree*

Instructions

Luc. 3.2

for thy salvation; but if thou begin above at the *Decree*, and say, *I am saved*, therefore *I shall repent*, thou mayest misse both. Repent, and you shall have the Seals; the Seals are the *Sacraments*; *Johns* was *Baptisme*; but to what? *He baptized to the amendment of life*. This then is the chain; we *preach*, you *repent*; then we give you the *Seals*, the *Sacraments*, and you *plead* them, that is, declare them in a holy life; for, till that (*Sanctification*) come, *Preaching*, and *Repentance*, and *Seals*, are ineffectuall. A good life inanimates all. And so, having done with his Commission, *what* he was to do, and his Instructions, *how* he was to do it, we passe to our last branch, in this last part, The execution of his Commission, and Instructions, what, and how he did it, what Testimony he gave of this light.

Se non esse

Ioh. 1.20

August.

First, he testified, *se non esse*, that *he was not this light*, this Christ, this Messias. And secondly, *Christum esse*, that this light, this Christ, this Messias was come into the world, there was no longer expectation: And lastly, *hunc esse*, that this particular person whom he designed and specified in the *Ecce Agnus, behold the Lambe of God*, was this Light, this Christ, this Messias. *He was not, One was, Christ was*; In these three consists his Testimony. First, he testified that himself was not the Messias, he confessed and denied not, and said plainly, *I am not the Christ*. Therefore, lest *John Baptist* might be overvalued, and their devotions fixed and determined in him, *S. Augustine* enlarges this consideration, *Erat Mons illustratus, non ipse Sol*; *John Baptist* was a hill, and a hill gloriously illustrated by the Sun, but he was not that Sun; *Mirare, mirare, sed tanquam montem*; *John Baptist* deserves a respect, and a regard; but regard him, and respect him but as an hill, which though high, is but the same earth; and *mons in tenebris est, nisi luce vestiatur*, A hill hath no more light in it self, then the valley, till the light invest it; *Si montem esse lucem putas, in monte naufragium facies*; If you take the hill, because it shines, to be the light it self, you shipwrack upon the top of a hill. If we rest in the person, or in the gifts of any man, to what heighth soever this hill be raised in opinion, or in the Church, still we mistake; *John Baptist*, men of the greatest endowments, and goodnesse too, are but instruments, they are not the workman himself. And therefore as they are most inexcusable, that put an infallibility in the ⁷⁵⁰ breast of *one man*, (our adversaries of *Rome*) so do they transgresse

too farre that way, that runne, and pant, and thrust after *strange preachers*, and leave their owne *Church* deserted, and their owne *Pastour* discouraged; for some one family, by the greatnesse thereof, or by the estimation thereof, may induce both those inconveniences. Truly, though it may seeme boldly said, it may be said safely, that we were better heare some *weaknesses* from our owne *Pastour*, then some excellencies from another; go farther, some *mistakings* from our own, then some truths from another; for, all the truths are not necessary; nor all mistakings pernicious; but obedience to order is
⁷⁷⁰ necessary, and all disorder pernicious. Now what a way had *John Baptist* open to him, if he had been popularly disposed. Amongst a people, that at that time expected their *Messias*, (for, all the Prophe- cies preceding his comming were then fulfilled) and such a *Messias* as should be a *Temporall King*, and had invested an opinion, that he, *John Baptist*, was that Christ, what rebellions, what earth-quakes, what inundations of people might he have drawne after him, if he would have countenanced and cherished their error to his advan- tage? They would have lacked no *Scriptures*, to authorize their ac- tions. They would have found particular places of the *Prophets*, to
⁷⁸⁰ have justified any act of theirs, in advancing their *Messias*, then ex- pected. Therein he is our patterne; not to preach *our selves, but Christ Jesus*; not to preach for admiration, but for edification; not to preach to advance *civil ends*, without *spirituall ends*; to promote all the way the peace of all *Christian Kingdomes*, but to refer all principally to the Kingdome of peace, and the King of peace, the God of heaven. He confessed, and denied not, and said plainly, *I am not the Christ*; That was his Testimony; we confesse, and deny not, and say plainly, That our *own parts*, our *owne passions*, the purpose of great persons, the purpose of any State, is not Christ; we *preach Christ Jesus, and*
⁷⁹⁰ *him crucified*; and whosoever preaches any other Gospell, or any other thing for Gospell, let him be accursed.

[2 Cor. 4:5]

[1 Cor. 1:23]

Esse Natum

John 1:26

[Gen. 3:15]

I am not the man, sayes *John Baptist*, for, that *man* is *God* too; but yet that *man*, that *God*, that *Messias* consisting of both, is come, though I be not he. *There is one amongst you, whom you know not, whose shooe-latchet I am not worthy to loose*. In which, he says all this; *There is one among you*; you need seek no farther; all the prom- ises, and Prophecies, (the *Semen mulieris*, That the *seed of the*

[Gen. 26.4]

[Gen.

49.10]

[Isa. 7.14]

[Mic. 5.2]

[Dan. 9.24]

Hunc esse

*woman should bruise the Serpents head; the appropriation to Abraham, In semine tuo, In thy seed shall all Nations be blessed: the fixation upon David, Donec Shiloh, till Shiloh come; Esay's Virgo concipiet, Behold a Virgin shall conceive; Micah's Et tu Bethlem, that Bethlem should be the place, Daniels seventy Hebdomades, that that should be the time,) all promises, all prophecies, all computations are at an end, the *Messias* is come.*

Is he come, and amongst you, and do you not know him? what will make you know him? You beleeve you need a *Messias*; you cannot restore your selfe. You beleeve this *Messias* must come at a certainte time, specified by certaine marks; were all these marks upon *any other*? or lacks there any of these in *him*? Do you thus magnifie

⁸¹⁰ *me*, and neglect a person, *whose shooe-latchet I am not worthy to loose? John Baptist* was a Prophet, *more then a Prophet, The greatest of the sonnes of women:* Who could be so much greater then *he*, and not the *Messias*? we must necessarily enwrap all these three in one another, and into one another they do easily and naturally fall: He testifies that *he* was not the man, (he preaches not himself) he testifies that *that man is come;* (future expectations are frivolous) and he testifies, that the *characters and marks* of the expected *Messias*, can fall upon *none* but *this man*, and therefore he delivers him over to them with that confidence, *Ecce Agnus Dei, Behold the Lambe of God*, there you may see him; and this is his Testimony.

[John 1.29]

Conclusio

[John 1.26]

1 Cor. 2.8

Act. 17.30

These three, *we*, we to whom *John Baptists* Commission is continued, testifie too. First, we tell you, what is *not Christ*; austerity of life, and outward sanctity is *not hee*; *John Baptist* had *them* abundantly, but yet permitted not, that they should have that opinion of him. But yet, much lesse is chambring and wantonnesse, and persevering in sinne, *that Christ*, or the way to him. We tell you, *stetit in medio*, he hath been amongst you, you have heard him *preached* in your ears; yea yee have heard him *knock* at your hearts, and for all that, we tell you that you *have not known him*. Which, though it be ⁸³⁰ the discomfortablest thing in the world, (not to have known Christ in those approches) yet we tell it you somewhat to your comfort; and to your excuse, for, *had you knowne it, you would not have crucified the Lord of glory*, as we doe *all*, by our daily sinnes. And though God have winked at these times of ignorance, (pretermitted

your former *inconsiderations*) now, he commandeth all men every where to *repent*. And therefore, that thou maist know, even thou, (as Christ iterates it) at least in this thy day, the things which belong to thy Peace, we tell you who he is, and where he is; *Ecce agnus Dei, Behold the lambe of God, Here, here* in this his ordinance he supplicates you, when the Minister, how meane soever, prays you, *in his stead, be yee reconciled to God*. Here he proclaims, and cries to you, *Venite omnes, come all that are weary and heavy laden*. Here he bleeds in the *Sacrament*, here he takes away the sinnes of the world, in deriving a jurisdiction upon us, to binde and loose upon earth, that which he will binde and loose in heaven. This we testifie to you; Doe you but receive this testimony. Till you hear that voice of consummation in heaven, *Venite benedicti, come yee blessed*, you shall never heare a more comfortable Gospell then this, which was preached by Christ himselfe, *the Spirit of the Lord is upon me, to preach the Gospell to the poore, to heale the broken hearted, to preach deliverance to the captives, and the acceptable yeare of the Lord*: for, this was not a deliverance from their brick-making in *Egypt*, nor from their *scornes* and *contempts* in *Babylon*, but a deliverance from that unexpressible, that unconceivable bondage of *sinne*, and *death*, not by the hand of a *Moses*, but a *Messias*. *Optat dare qui præcipit petere*, he that commands us to aske, would faine give: *Cupit largiri, qui desiderat postulari*, he that desires us to pray to him, hath that ready, and a readinesse to give that, that he bids us pray for. If the King give a *generall pardon*, will any man be so suspiciously trecherous in his own behalfe, as to say, for all this large extent of his mercy, he meant not *me*, and therefore I will sue out no pardon? If the King cast a *donative*, at his Coronation, will any man lie still and say, he meant none of that money to *me*? When the master of the feast sent his servants for guests, had it become those *poor*, and *maimed*, and *halt*, and *blind*, to have stood and disputed with the steward, and said, Surely sir, you mistooke your Master, your Master did not meane *us*? Why should any man thinke that God meanes not *him*? When he offers grace, and salvation to *all*, why not to *him*? Should God exclude him as a *man*? Why, God made him good, and, as a *man* and his creature, he is good still. But, *non Deus Esau hominem odit, sed odit Esau peccatorem*? God did not hate *Esau*, as he was a *man*, but as he was a *sinner*. Should he exclude him as a

Luke 19.42

2 Cor. 5.20

[Mat. 11.28]

[Mat. 25.34]

Luke 4.18

Esay 61.1

August.

Luke 14

August.

Mar. 2.17

August.

Chrysost.

Act. 4.12

verse 40

sinner? Why then he should receive *none*, for we are all so; and he came for none but such, but sinners. *Perfectiorum est nihil in peccatore odiisse præter peccata*, To hate nothing in a sinner, but his sinne, is a great degree of perfection; God is that perfection; he hates nothing in thee but thy sinne; and that sinne he hath taken upon himself, and sees it not in thee. Should he exclude thee because thou art *impenitent*, because thou hast not repented? Doe it now. *Pec-⁸⁸⁰ casti, pœnitere*, Hast thou sinned? repent. *Millies peccasti? millies pœnitere*. Hast thou multiplied thy sinnes by thousands? multiply thy penitent teares so too. Should he exclude thee, because thou art *impenitible*, thou canst not repent; how knowest thou thou *canst* not repent? Doest thou try, doest thou endevour, doest thou strive? why, this, this holy contention of thine is repentance. Discredit not Gods evidence; he offers thee *Testimonium ab homine*, the testimony of man, of the man of God, the Minister, that the promises of the Gospell belong to *thee*. Judge not against that evidence; confesse that there is *no other name given under heaven*, to be *saved*, *but the name of Jesus*, and that *that is*. And then, when thou hast thus admitted his witnesses to *thee*, that his *preaching* hath wrought upon thee, be thou his witnesse to *others*, by thy *exemplar life*, and holy conversation. In this chapter, in the calling of the Apostles some such thing is intimated, when of those two Disciples, which, upon *Johns* testimony, followed Christ, one is named, (*Andrew*) and the other is not named. No doubt, but the other is also written in the book of life, and long since enjoyes the blessed fruit of *that* his forwardnesse. But in the testimony of the Gospell, written for posterity, onely *Andrew* is named, who sought out his brother *Simon*, and drew *him* in, and so ⁸⁹⁰ propagated the Church, and spread the Glory of God. They who testifie their faith by *works*, give us the better comfort, and posterity the better example. It will be but Christ's first question at the last day, *What hast thou done for me?* If we can answer *that*, he will aske, *What hast thou suffered for me?* and if we can answer *that*, he will aske at last, *Whom hast thou won to me, what soul hast thou added to my Kingdome?* Our thoughts, our words, our doings, our sufferings, if they bring *but our selves* to Heaven, they are not *Witnesses*; our example brings *others*; and that is the purpose, and the end of all we have said, *John Baptist* was a witnesse to *us*, we are so to *you*, be ⁹⁰⁰ you so to *one another*.

Number 9.

*A Sermon upon the fift of November 1622.
being the Anniversary celebration of our
Deliverance from the Powder Treason.*

*Intended for Pauls Crosse, but by reason of the weather,
Preached in the Church.*

THE PRAYER BEFORE THE SERMON

O LORD open thou my lips, and my mouth shall shew forth thy praise; for thou, O Lord, didst make haste to help us, *Thou, O Lord, didst make speed to save us. Thou that sittest in heaven, didst not onely looke down, to see what was done upon the Earth, but what was done in the Earth; and when the bowels of the Earth, were, with a key of fire, ready to open and swallow us, the bowels of thy compassion, were, with a key of love, opened to succour us; This is the day, and these are the houres, wherein that should have been acted: In this our Day, and in these houres, We praise thee, O God, we acknowledg-¹⁰ thee, to bee the Lord; All our Earth doth worship thee; The holy Church throughout all this Land, doth knowledge thee, with com- memorations of that great mercy, now in these houres. Now, in these houres, it is thus commemorated, in the Kings House, where the Head and Members praise thee; Thus, in that place, where it should have been perpetrated, where the Reverend Judges of the Land doe now praise thee; Thus, in the Universities, where the tender youth of this Land, is brought up to praise thee, in a detestation of their Doctrines, that plotted this; Thus it is commemorated in many severall Societies, in many severall Parishes, and thus, here, in this Mother*

[B.C.P.
Morning
Prayer]
[Psa. 14.2]

[B.C.P.
Te Deum]

²⁰ Church, in this great Congregation of thy Children, where, all, of all sorts, from the Lievttenant of thy Lievttenant, to the meanest sonne of thy sonne, in this Assembly, come with hearts, and lippes, full of thanksgiving: Thou Lord, openest their lippes, that their mouth may shew forth thy prayse, for, Thou, O Lord, diddest make haste to helpe them, Thou diddest make speede to save them. *Accept, O Lord, this Sacrifice, to which thy Spirit giveth fire; This of Praise, for thy great Mercies already afforded to us, and this of Prayer, for the continuance, and enlargement of them, upon the Catholick Church, by them, who pretend themselves the onely sonnes thereof, dishonoured this Day;*

³⁰ upon these Churches of England, Scotland, and Ireland, shaked and threatned dangerously this Day; upon thy servant, our Soveraigne, for his Defence of the true Faith, designed to ruine this day; upon the Prince, and others derived from the same roote, some but Infants, some not yet Infants, enwrapped in dust, and annihilation, this day; upon all the deliberations of the Counsell, That in all their Consultations, they may have before their eyes, the Record and Registers of this Day; upon all the Clergie, That all their Preaching, and their Governement, may preclude, in their severall Jurisdiccons, all re-entrances of that Religion, which, by the Confession of the Actours

⁴⁰ themselves, was the onely ground of the Treason of this day; upon the whole Nobilitie, and Commons, all involved in one Common Destruction, this Day; upon both our Universities, which though they lacke no Arguments out of thy Word, against the Enemies of thy Truth, shall never leave out this Argument out of thy Works, The Historie of this Day; And upon all those, who are any wayes afflicted, That our afflictions bee not multiplyed upon us, by seeing them multiplyed amongst us, who would have diminished thee, and annihilated us, this Day; And lastly, upon this Auditory assembled here, That till they turne to ashes in the Grave, they may remember, that

⁵⁰ thou tookest them, as fire-brands out of the fire, this Day.

Heare us, O Lord, and hearken to us, Receive our Prayers, and returne them with Effect, for his sake, in whose Name and words, wee make them:

Our Father which art, &c.

THE SERMON

LAMENT. 4.20. *THE BREATH OF OUR NOSTRILS, THE ANOINTED OF THE LORD, WAS TAKEN IN THEIR PITS.*

Of the *Authour of this Booke*, I thinke there was never doubt made; but yet, that is scarce safely done, which the *Councill of Trent* doth, in that Canon, which numbers the Books of Canonickall Scriptures, to leave out this Book of Lamentations. For, though I make no doubt, but that they had a purpose to comprehend, and involve it, in the name of *Jeremy*, yet that was not enough; for so they might have comprehended and involved, *Genesis*, and *Deuteronomie*, and all between those two, in one name of *Moses*; and so they might have comprehended, and involved, the *Apocalypse*,
¹⁰ and some *Epistles* in the name of *John*, and have left out the Book it selfe in the number. But one of their own *Jesuits*, though some, (whom in that Canon they seeme to follow) make this Booke of *Lamentations*, but an Appendix to the Prophecy of *Jeremy*, determines, for all that Canon, that it is a *distinct Book*. Indeed, if it were not, the first Chapter would have been called, the 53 of *Jeremy*, and not the *first of the Lamentations*. But that which gives most assurednesse, is, That in divers *Hebrew Bibles*, it is placed otherwise, then wee place it, and not presently, and immediately after the Prophecy of *Jeremy*, but discontinued from him, though hee were never
²⁰ doubted to be the Author thereof.

Castro

The Booke is certainly the *Prophet Jeremies*, and certainly a *distinct booke*; But whether the Book be a *history*, or a *Prophecy*, whether *Jeremy* lament that which hee had *seen*, or that which he *foresees*, calamities past, or future calamities, things done, or things to be done, is a question which hath exercised, and busied divers Expositors. But, as we say of the *Parable of Dives*, and *Lazarus*, that it is a *Historicall parable*, and a *Parabolicall history*, some such persons there were, and some such things were really done, but some

other things were figuratively, symbolically, parabolically added: So ³⁰ wee say of *Jeremies Lamentation*, It is a *Propheticall history*, and a *Historicall prophecy*; Some of the sad occasions of these Lamentations were past, when he writ, and some were to come after: for, we may not despise the testimony of the *Chalde Paraphrasts*, who were the first that illustrated the Bible, in that Nation, nor of S. *Hierome*, who was much conversant with the Bible, and with that Nation, nor of *Josephus*, who had justly so much estimation in that Nation, nor of those later *Rabbins*, who were the learnedest of that Nation; who are all of opinion, that *Jeremy* writ these Lamentations, after hee saw some declinations in that State, in the *death of Josiah*, and so the Book ⁴⁰ is *Historicall*, but when he onely foresaw their transportation into *Babylon*, before that calamity fell upon them, and so it is *Propheticall*. Or, if we take the exposition of the others, That the whole Booke was written after their transportation into *Babylon*, and to be, in all parts, *Historicall*, yet it is *Propheticall* still; for the Prophet laments a greater Desolation then that, in the utter ruine, and devastation of the City, and Nation, which was to fall upon them, after the death of *Christ Jesus*. Neither is any peece of this Booke, the lesse fit to be our Text, this day, because it is both *Historicall*, and *Propheticall*, for, they, from whom, God, in his mercy, gave us a Deliverance, this day, ⁵⁰ are our *Historicall Enemies*, and our *Propheticall Enemies*; historically wee know, they *have* attempted our ruine heretofore, and prophetically wee may bee sure, they *will doe so againe*, whensover any new occasion provokes them, or sufficient power enables them.

Divisio
Ezek. 2.10

The Text then is as the Booke presented to *Ezekiel*; In it are written *Lamentations*, and *Mournings*, and *Woe*; and all they are written *within*, and *without*, says the Text there; *within*, as they concern the *Jews*, *without*, as they are appliable to *us*: And they concern the *Jews*, *Historically* (attempts upon that State *Jeremy* had certainly *seen*,) and they concern them *prophetically*, for farther at ⁶⁰tempts *Jeremy* did certainly *foresee*. They are appliable to us both ways too: *Historically*, because wee have seen, what they *would have done*, And *Prophetically*, because wee foresee what they *would doe*. So that here is but a difference of the Computation; here is *stilo veteri*, and *stilo novo*; here is the *Jews Calendar*, and the *Papists Calendar*; In the *Jews Calendar*, one *Babylon* wrought upon the

people of God, and in the Papists Calendar, *another Babylon: Stilo veteri*, in the Jews Calendar, 700 yeare before Christ came, there were *pits made, and the breath of their nostrils, The anointed of the Lord, was taken in their pits: Stilo novo*, in the Papists Calendar, 1600⁷⁰ yeare after Christ came in all fulnesse, in all clearnesse, *There were pits made againe, and The breath of our nostrils, The anointed of the Lord, was almost taken in those pits.*

It is then *Jeremies*, and it is a *distinct Book*; It concernes the *Jews*, and it concernes *us* too; And it concernes us both, *both wayes, Historically, and Prophetically*. But whether *Jeremy* lament here the death of a good King, of *Josiah*, (for so Saint *Hierome*, and many of the *Ancients*, and many of the *Jewes* themselves take it, and thinke that those words in the *Chronicles*, have relation to these Lamentations, *And Jeremy lamented for Josiah, and all the people speake of*⁸⁰ *him, in their Lamentations.*) Or whether he lament the transportation and the misery of an ill King, of *Zedekiah*, (as is more ordinarily, and more probably held by the Expositours) we argue not, we dispute not now; we imbrace that which arises from both, That both good Kings, and bad Kings, *Josiah*, and *Zedekiah*, are the *anointed* of the Lord, and the *breath of the nostrills*, that is, The life of the people; and therefore both to be lamented, when they fall into dangers, and consequently both to be preserved by all means, by *Prayer* from them who are private persons, by *counsell* from them, who have that great honour and that great charge, to be near them in that kinde, and by⁹⁰ *support and supply*, from all, of all sorts, from falling into such dangers.

2.35.25

These considerations will, I thinke, have the better impression in you, if we proceed in the handling of them thus: First, the main cause of the Lamentation was the Ruine, or the dangerous declination of the Kingdome, of that great and glorious State, *The Kingdome*; But then they did not seditiously sever the King, and the Kingdome, as though the Kingdome could doe well, and the King ill, *That safe, and he in danger*, for they see cause to lament, because misery was fallen upon *the Person of the King*; perchance upon *Josiah*, a good,¹⁰⁰ a religious King; perchance but upon *Zedekiah*, a worse King; yet, whichsoever it be, they acknowledge him to be *Vnctus Domini, The anointed of the Lord*, and to be *Spiritus narium, The breath of their*

nostrills: When this person therefore, was fallen into the pits of the Enemy, the Subject laments; but this lamenting because he *was fallen*, implies a deliverance, a restitution, he was *fallen*, but he did *not ly* there: so the Text, which is as yet but of *Lamentation*, will grow an hour hence to be of *Congratulation*; and then we shall see, That whosoever, in rectified affections, hath lamented a *danger*, and then congratulated a *deliverance*, he will provide against a *relapse*, a
¹¹⁰ falling again into that or any other danger, by all means of sustaining the Kingdome and the King, in safety and in honour.

^I
Regnum Our first step then in this Royall progresse, is, That the cause of this Lamentation, was, the declination, the diminution of the *Kingdome*. If the Center of the world should be moved but one inch out of the place, it cannot be reckoned, how many miles, this Island, or any building in it, would be thrown out of their places; A declination in the Kingdome of the Jewes, in the body of the Kingdome, in the soul of the State, in the *form of Government*, was such an Earth-quake, as could leave nothing standing. Of all things that
¹²⁰ are, there *was* an *Idea* in God; there was a modell, a platform, an exemplar of every thing, which God produced and created in Time, in the mind and purpose of God before: Of all things God *had* an *Idea*, a preconception; but of Monarchy, of Kingdome, God, who is but one, *is* the *Idea*; God himselfe, in his Unity, *is* the Modell, He *is* the Type of *Monarchy*. He made but one World; for, this, and the next, are not *two Worlds*; This is but the *Morning*, and that the *everlasting Noon*, of one and the same Day, which shall have no Night: They are not *two Houses*; This is the *Gallery*, and that the *Bed-chamber* of one, and the same Palace, which shall feel no ruine.

¹³⁰ He made this one World, but *one Eye, The Sunne*; The *Moone* is not another Eye, but a Glasse, upon which, the Sunne reflects. He made this one World, but *one Eare, The Church*; He tells not us, that he heares by a left Eare, by Saints, but by that right Eare, the Church he doth. There is *One God, One Faith, One Baptisme*, and these lead us to the love of one Soveraign, of Monarchy, of Kingdome. In that Name, God hath convayed to us the state of *Grace*, and the state of *Glory* too; and he hath promised both, in injoining that Petition, *Adveniat Regnum, Thy Kingdome Come*, Thy Kingdome of *Grace* here, Thy Kingdome of *Glory* hereafter. All forms of Govern-

[Eph. 4:5]

[Mat. 6:10]

¹⁴⁰ ment have one and the same *Soul*, that is, *Soveraignty*; That resides somewhere in every form; and this Soveraignty is in them all, from one and the same *Root*, from the *Lord of Lords*, from *God* himself, for *all Power is of God*: But yet this form of a *Monarchy*, of a *Kingdome*, is a more lively, and a more *masculin Organe*, and Instrument of this Soul of Soveraigntie, then the other forms are: Wee are sure *Women* have *Soules* as well as *Men*, but yet it is not so expressed, *that God breathed a Soule into Woman*, as hee did into Man; All formes of Governement have this Soule, but yet God infuseth it more manifestly, and more effectually, in that forme, in a *Kingdome*: All ¹⁵⁰ places are alike neare to Heaven, yet Christ would take a *Hill*, for his Ascension; All governments may justly represent God to mee, who is the God of Order, and fountaine of all government, but yet I am more eased, and more accustomed to the contemplation of *Heaven*, in that *notion*, as *Heaven is a kingdome*, by having been borne, and bred in a *Monarchy*: God is a Type of that, and that is a Type of Heaven.

This form then, in nature the noblest, in use the profitablest of all others, God always intended to his best-beloved people, God always meant that the Jews should have a King, though he prepared them in ¹⁶⁰ other forms before; As hee meant them *peace* at last, though he exercised them in *Warre*, and meant them the *land of promise*, though he led them *through the Wildernessee*; so he meant them a *King*, though he prepared them by *Judges*. God intended it in him selfe, and he declared it to them, 400 yeares before he gave them a King, he instructed them, what kinde of King they should set over them, when they came to that kinde of government: And long before that he made a promise, by *Jacob* to *Judah* of a *Kingdome*, and *that the Scepter should not depart from him, till Siloh came*. And when God came neare the time, in which he intended to them that govern- ¹⁷⁰ ment, in the time of *Samuel*, who was the immediate predecessor to their first King, *Saul*, God made way for a *Monarchy*; for *Samuel* had a much more absolute authority, in that State, then any of the *Judges* had; *Samuel judged them*, and in their petition for a King, they ask but that, *Make us a King to judge us*; *Samuel* was little lesse then a King; and *Sauls* reign, and *his*, are reckoned both in one number, and made as the reign of one man; when it is said in the *Acts*, that

[Rom. 13.1]

*Judæis
promissa*

Deut. 17.14

Gen. 49.10

1 Sam. 8.5

Acts 13.21

Saul reigned 40 yeares, Samuels time is included in that number, for all the yeares, from the death of Eli, to the beginning of David, are but 40 years. God meant them a Kingdome in himselfe, promised them a kingdome in Judah, made Laws for their kingdome in Deuteronomy, made way for the kingdome in Samuel, and why then was God displeased with their petition for a Kingdome?

Exod. 19.5

It was a greater fault in them, then it could have been in any other people, to ask a King; not that it was not the most desirable form of government, but that God governed them, so immediately, so presentially *himselfe*, as that it was an ingratefull intemperance in them, to turn upon any other meanes; God had ever performed that which he promised them, in that which comprehended all, *Ye shall be a peculiar treasure unto me, above all people*; And therefore *Josephus* hath expressed it well; All other people are under the forme of *Democratie, or Aristocratie, or such other formes, composed of men; Sed noster Legislator, Theocratiam instituit*, the Jews were onely under a *Theocratie*, an immediate government of God, he judged them himselfe, and hee himselfe fought their battels: And therefore God says to *Samuel*, *They have not rejected thee*, Thou wast not King, *But they have rejected mee*, I was. To bee weary of God, is it enough to call it a levity? But if they did onely compare forme with forme, and not God himselfe with any forme, if they did onely thinke Monarchy best, and beleeve that God intended a Monarchy to them, yet to limit God his time, and to make God performe his promise before his day, was a fault, and inexcusable. *Daniel* saw, that the Messiah should come within *seventy weekes*: *Daniel* did not say, Lord, let it bee within fifty weekes, or let it bee this weeke: The Martyrs under the Altar, cry *Vsquequo Domine, How long Lord*, but then, they leave it there, Even as long as pleaseth thee: Their petition should have been, *Adveniat regnum tuum*, Let us have that Kingdome, which because thou knowest it is good for us, thou hast promised to us; But yet *Fiat voluntas tua*, Let us have it then, when thy Wisdome sees it best for us: You said to mee (says *Samuel*, by way of Reproofe and Increpation) *You said, Nay but a King shall reigne over us*; Now, that was not their fault; but that which followes, The unseasonableness and inconsideration of their clamorous Petition, *You said a King shall reigne over us, when the Lord your God, was*

[Dan. 9.24]

[Rev. 6.10]

1 Sam. 12.12

your King; They would not trust *Gods meanes*, there was their first fault: And then, though they desired a thing good in it selfe, and a good intended to them, yet they *fixed God his time*, and they would not stay his leisure; And either of these, To aske *other things* then God would give, or at *other times*, then God would give them, is displeasing to him: Use his meanes, and stay his leisure.

²²⁰ But yet, though God were displeased with them, he executed his own purpose; he was angry with their manner of asking a King, but yet he gave them a King: Howsoever God be displeased with them, who prevaricate in his cause, who should sustaine it, and doe not, Gods cause shall be sustained, though they doe it not. We may distinguish the period of the Jewish State well enough, thus, that they had *Infantiam*, or *pueritiam*, their infancy, their minority, in *Adam*, and the first Patriarchs till the flood: that they had *Adolescentiam*, *A growing time*, from *Noah*, through the other Patriarchs, till *Moses*: and that they had *Juventutem*, a youth and strength from *Moses*,

Dabat

²³⁰ through the Judges, to *Saul*: but then they had *Virilitatem*, *virilem ætatem*, their established vigor, under their Kings; and after them, they fell in *senectutem*, into a wretched and miserable decay of old age, and decrepitness: their kingdome was their best State; and so much, God in the *Prophet*, intimates pregnantly, when refreshing to their memories, in a particular Inventory, and Catalogue, all his former benefits to them, how he *clothed Jerusalem*, how he *fed* her, how he *adorned* her, he summed up all, in this one, *Et profecisti in regnum, I have advanced thee, to be a kingdome*: there was the *Tropique*, there was the *Solstice*, farther then that, in this world, we

Ezek. 16.13

²⁴⁰ know not how God could goe; a kingdome was *really* the best State upon *Earth*, and *Symbolically*, the best *figure*, and *Type of Heaven*. And therefore, when the Prophet *Jeremy*, historically beheld the declination of this kingdome, in the death of *Josiah*, and prophetically foresaw the ruines thereof, in the transportation of *Zedekiah*, or, if he had seen that historically too, yet prophetically he foresaw the utter devastation, and depopulation, and extermination, which scattered that nation, soon after Christ, to this day, (and God and no man knows, for how long,) when they, who *were a kingdome*, are now no where a *village*, and they who had such Kings, have now no where ²⁵⁰ a *Constable* of their owne, historically, prophetically, *Jeremy* had just cause of lamentation for the danger of that kingdome.

We had so also, for this our kingdome, this day; God hath given us a kingdome, not as other kingdomes, made up of divers Cities, but of divers kingdomes, and all those kingdomes were destined to desolation, in one minute. It was not onely the destruction of the *persons present*, but of the *kingdom*, for to submit the kingdome to the government of a *forein Prelate*, was to destroy the Monarchy, to annihilate the Supremacy, to ruine the very forme of a kingdome; a kingdome under another head, besides the King, is not a kingdome,
²⁶⁰ as ours is. *The oath* that the *Emperour* takes to the *Pope*, is by their authours called *Juramentum fidelitatis*, an oath of Allegiance; and if they had brought our Kings, to take an oath of Allegiance so, this were no kingdome. *Pope Nicolas the second*, went about to create two kingdomes, that of *Tuscany*, and that of *Lombardy*; his successors have gone about to destroy more; for to make it depend upon him, were to destroy our kingdome. That they have attempted historically; and as long as these Axiomes, and Aphorismes remaine in their Authors, that one shall say, that *De jure*, by right all Christian kingdomes doe hold of the *Pope*, and *De facto*, are forfeited to the
²⁷⁰ *Pope*, and another shall say, that Christendome would be better governed if the *Pope* would take the forfeiture, and so bring all these Royall farmes, into his owne *demesne*, we see also, their propheticall desire, their propheticall intention, against this kingdome, what they would doe: In their *Actions* we have their history, in their *Axioms* we have their prophecy.

*Regnum
in Rege*

Jeremy lamented the desolation of the *kingdome*, but that, expressed in the death, and destruction of the *King*. Hee did not divide the King and the kingdome, as if the kingdome could do well, and the King in distresse: *Omnipotentia Dei, Asylum hæreticorum*; it is well
²⁸⁰ said, by more then one of the ancients, that the Omnipotence of God, is the Sanctuary of Heretiques: when they would establish any heresie, they flye to Gods Almightynesse. God can doe all, therefore he can doe this. So, in the *Roman Church*, they establish their heresie of *Transubstantiation*; And so, their deliverance of soules not from *Purgatory* onely, but from *Hell* it selfe. They think to stop all mouths with that, *God can do it*, no man dares deny that; when as, if that were granted, (which, in such things, as naturally imply contradiction in themselves, or contradiction to Gods word, cannot be granted,

for God cannot do that, God cannot lye,) yet though God *can* do it, ²⁹⁰ concludes not that God *will* do it, or *hath* done it: *Omnipotentia Dei Asylum hæreticorum*, The omnipotency of God, is the Sanctuary of Heretiques, and so, *Salus Regni*, is *Asylum proditorum*, Greater Treasons, and Seditions, and Rebellions have never been set on foote, then upon colour, and pretence, of a care of the State, and of the good of the Kingdome. Every where, the King is *Sponsus Regni*, the husband of the Kingdome; and to make love to the Kings wife, and undervalue *him*, must necessarily make any King *jealous*: The King is *Anima Regni*, The soule of the Kingdome; and to provide for the health of the body, with the detriment of the soule, is perverse ³⁰⁰ physick: The King is *Caput Regni*, The head of the Kingdome; and to cure a Member, by cutting off the head, is ill surgery: Man and wife, soule and body, head and members, God hath joyned, and those whom God hath joyned, let no man sever. *Salus Regni, Asylum Proditorum*, To pretend to uphold the Kingdome, and overthrow the King, hath ever been the *temptation* before, and the *excuse* after, in the greatest Treasons. In that action of the *Jews*, which we insisted upon before, in their pressing for a King, *The Elders of Israel* were *gathered together*, and so far they were in their way, for this was no popular, no seditious Assembly of light and turbulent men, but *The Elders*; And then, *they came to Samuel*, And so farre they were in their right way too, for they held no counsels apart, but came to the right place, for redresse of grievances, to their then highest Gover-nour, to *Samuel*: When they were thus lawfully met, they forbear not to lay open unto him, the injustice of his greatest Officers, though it concerned the very *Sonnes of Samuel*; and thus farre they kept within their convenient limits; But when they would presse *Samuel* to a new way of remedy, to an inconvenient way, to a present way, to their own way, and referre nothing to him, what care soever they pretended of the good of the State, it is evident, that they had no ³¹⁰ good opinion of *Samuel* himself, and even that displeased God, That they were ill affected to that person, whom he had set over them. To sever the King, and the Kingdome, and pretend the weale of 'the one, without the other, is to shake and discompose Gods building.

Historically this was the Jewes case, when *Jeremy* lamented here, if he lamented the declination of the State, in the death of the King

[Mat. 19.6]

1 Sam. 8

Josiah, And if he lamented the transportation of *Zedekiah*, and that that crosse were not yet come upon them; Or if he lamented the future devastation of that Nation, occasioned by the death of the King of Kings Christ Jesus, when he came into the world, this was their case

³³⁰ prophetically: Either way, historically, or prophetically, *Jeremy* looks upon the Kingdome, but yet through that glasse, through the King.

The duty of the Day, and the order of the Text, invites us to an application of this branch too. Our adversaries did not come to say to themselves, *Nolumus Regnum hoc*, we will not have this Kingdome stand, the *materiall Kingdome*, the plenty of the Land, they would have been content to have, but the *formall Kingdome*, that is, *This forme of Government*, by a Soveraigne King, that depends upon none but God, they would not have. So that they came *implicitly* to *Nolumus Regnum hoc*, we will not have this Kingdome governed

³⁴⁰ thus, and they came *explicitely* to a *Nolumus Regem hunc* (as the Jewes were resolved of Christ) We will not have this King to governe at all. *Non hunc?* Will you not have him? you were at your *Nolumus hanc* long before; Her, whom God had set over you, before him, you would not have. Your, not *Anniversary*, but *Hebdomadary* Treasons, cast upon *her* a necessity of *drawing blood* often, and so your *Nolumus hanc*, your desire that she were gone, might have some kinde of ground, or colour: But for your *Nolumus hunc*, for this King who had made no *Inquisition* for *blood*, who had forborne your very *pecuniary penalties*, who had (as himself witnesses of himself)

³⁵⁰ made you partakers with his Subjects of his own Religion, in matters of *grace*, and in *reall benefits*, and in *Titles of Honour*, *Quare fremuerunt*, Why did these men rage, and imagine a vaine thing? What they did historically, we know; They made that house, which is *the hive* of the Kingdome, from whence all her *honey* comes; that house where *Justice* her self is conceived, in their preparing of *Laws*, and inanimated, and quickned and borne by the Royall Assent, there given; they made that whole house *one Murdring peece*, and charged that peece with Peers, with People, with Princes, with the King, and meant to discharge it upward at the face of heaven, to shoot God

Psal. 2.1

[Psa. 82.6] ³⁶⁰ at the face of God, Him, of whom God hath said, *Dii estis*, You are Gods, at the face of God, that had said so, as though they would have reproached the God of heaven, and not have been beholden to him

for such a King, but shoot him up to him, and bid him take his King again, with a *nolumus hunc regnare*, we will not have this King to reign over us. This was our case Historically, and what it is Prophetically, as long as that remains to bee their doctrine, which he, against whom that attempt was principally made, found by their examination, to be their doctrine, That they, and no Sect in the world, but they, did make *Treason an article of Religion*, That their

³⁷⁰ Religion bound them to those attempts, so long they are never at an end; Till they dis-avow those Doctrines, that conduce to that, prophetically they *wish*, prophetically they *hope* for better successe in as ill attempts.

It is then the *kingdome* that *Jeremy* laments; but his nearest object is the *King*; Hee laments him. First, let it be, (as with *S. Hierome*, many of the *Ancients*, and with them, many of the *later Rabbins* will have it) for *Josiah*, for a *good King*, in whose death, the honour, and the strength of the kingdome took that deadly wound, to become tributary to a forain Prince: for, to this lamentation they refer those

³⁸⁰ words of the Prophet, which describe a great sorrow, *In that day shall there be a great mourning in Jerusalem, as the mourning of Hadadrimmon, in the valley of Megiddon*; which was the place, where *Josiah* was slain; There shall be such a lamentation (says the Prophet, in this interpretation) as was for the death of *Josiah*. This then was for him; for a good King. Wherein have we his goodness expressed? Abundantly. *Hee did that which was right in Gods sight*; (And whose Eye need he fear, that is right in the Eye of God?) But how long did he so? *To the end*; for, *Nero*, who had his *Quinquennium*, and was a good Emperour for his first five years, was one of the

³⁹⁰ worst of all: Hee that is ill all the way, is but a *Tyran*, Hee that is good at first, and after ill, *an Angels face*, and a *Serpents taile* make him a *Monster*; *Josiah* began well, and persevered so, *He turned not aside to the right hand, nor to the left*; That is, (if we apply it to the *Josiah* of our times) neither to the *fugitive*, that leaves our Church, and goes to the *Roman*, nor to the *Separatist*, that leaves our Church, and goes to *none*. In the eighteenth year of his reign, *Josiah* undertook the *reparation of Gods house*; If we apply this to the *Josiah* of our times, I think, in *that year of his reign*, he *visited this Church*, and these wals, and meditated, and perswaded the reparation thereof.

Zech. 12.11

2 Reg. 22.2

23.25 ⁴⁰⁰ In one word, *Like unto Josiah, there was no King before, nor after.* And therefore there was just cause of lamentation for this King, for *Josiah; historically* for the very loss of his *person, prophetically* for the misery of the *State, after his death.*

Our errand is to day, to apply all these branches to the day; Those men who intended us, this cause of lamentation this day, in the destruction of *our Josiah*, spared him not, because he was so, because he was a *Josiah*, because he was *good*; no, not because he was *good to them*, his benefits to them, had not mollified them, towards him: for that is not their way; Both the *French Henries* were their own, and

⁴¹⁰ good to them; but did that rescue either of them, from the *knife?* And was not that *Emperour*, whom they *poisoned* in the *Sacrament*, their own, and good to them? and yet was that, any *Antidote* against

[Rom. 1.28]

their poison? To so reprobate a sense hath God given them over herein, as that, though in their *Books*, they ly heaviest upon Princes of our Religion, yet truly they have destroyed more of their own, then of ours. Thus it is Historically in their proceedings past: And Prophetically it can be but thus, since no King is good, in their sense, if he agree not to *all points of Doctrine* with them: And when that is done, not good yet, except he agree in *all points of Jurisdiction too*;

⁴²⁰ and that, no King can doe, that will not be their Farmer of his Kingdome. Their Authours have disputed *Auferibilitatem Papæ*, whether the Church of God might not be without a *Pope*, they have made a problematicall, a disputable matter, and some of their Authours have diverted towards an affirmation of it; but *Auferibilitas potestatis*, to imagine a King without Kingly Sovereignty, never came into probleme, into disputation. We all lamented, and bitterly, and justly, the losse of our *Deborah*, though then we saw a *Iosiah* succeeding: but if they had removed our *Iosiah*, and his *Royall children*, and so, this form of government, *where, or who, or what* had been an object of

⁴³⁰ Consolation to us?

Rex malus

The cause of lamentation in the losse of a *good King*, is certainly great, and so it was, if *Jeremy* lamented *Iosiah*; but if it were but for *Zedekiah*, an *ill King*, (as the greater part of Expositors take it) yet the lamentation you see, is the same. How ill a King was *Zedekiah*? As ill, as *Iosiah* was good, that's his measure. *He did evill in the sight of the Lord, according to all that Iehoiakim had done*; Here is his

² Reg. 24.19

sinne, sinne by precedent; and what had *Jehoiakim* done? *He had done evill in the sight of the Lord, according to all that his Fathers had done.* It is a great, and a dangerous wickednesse, which is done
 440 upon pretext of *Antiquity*; The *Religion* of our *Fathers*, the *Church* of our *Fathers*, the *Worship* of our *Fathers*, is a pretext that colours a great deale of Superstition. He did evill, as his *Fathers*; there was his comparative evill: And his positive evill, (I meane, his particular sinne) was, *That he humbled not himself to Gods Prophets*, to *Jeremy* speaking from the mouth of the Lord; there was *irreligiousnesse*; And then, *He broke the Oath which he had sworne by God*, there was *perfidiousnesse*, *faithlesnesse*; And lastly, *He stiffned his neck, and hardned his heart, from turning to the Lord of Israel*, there was *impenitibleness*: Thus evill was *Zedekiah*, *irreligious* to
 450 God, treacherous to man, impenitible to himself, and yet the State, and men truly religious in the State, the Prophet, lamented him; not his spirituall defections, by sinne; for, they did not make themselves Judges of that; but they lamented the calamities of the Kingdome, in the losse even of an evill King.

That man must have a large comprehension, that shall adventure to say of any King, *He is an ill King*; he must know his *Office* well, and his *actions* well, and the actions of *other Princes* too, who have correspondence with him, before he can say so. When Christ sayes, *Let your communication be yea, yea, and nay, nay, for whatsoever is
 460 more then this*, (that is, when it comes to *swearing*) *that cometh of evill*, Saint *Augustine* does not understand that, of the evill disposition of that man that sweares, but of them, who will not beleeve him, without swearing; Many times a Prince departs from the exact rule of his duty, not out of his own, indisposition to truth, and clearnesse, but to countermine underminers. That which *David* sayes in the eighteenth Psalme, *David* speaks, not of man, but of *God* himself; *Cum perverso pervertēris, With the froward, thou wilt show thy self froward*; God, who is of no froward nature, may be made froward; with crafty neighbours, a Prince will be crafty, and perchance false
 470 with the false. Alas, (to looke into no other profession but our owne) how often do we excuse *Dispensations*, and *pluralities*, and *non-residencies*, with an *Omnes faciunt*, I do, but as other men of my profession, do? Allow a King but that, *That he does but as other Kings do*,

2 Reg.
23 ult.

2 Chr. 36.12

Ver. 13

Mat. 5.37

Vers. 26

[Psa. 44.12]

Nay, but this, *He does but as other Kings put him to a necessity to do,* and you will not hastily call a King an ill King. When *God gives his people for old shoes, and sells them for nothing,* and, at the same time, gives his and their enemies abundance, when God commands *Abraham,* to sacrifice his own and onely Sonne, and his enemies have *Children at their pleasure,* as *David* speaks, To give your selves the

[Psa. 17.14]

⁴⁸⁰ liberty of humane affection, you would think God an ill God; but yet,

[1 Pet. 2.9]

for all this, his children are to him, a *Royall Priesthood,* and a *holy Nation;* and all *their tears are in his bottles,* and *registred in his booke,*

[Psa. 56.8]

for all this. When Princes pretermit in some things, the present benefit of their Subjects, and confer favours upon others, give your selves the liberty to judge of Princes actions, with the affections of private men, and you may think a King an ill King: But yet, we are to him, as *David* sayes, *His brethren, his bone, his flesh,* and so reputed by him. God himselfe cannot stand upright in a *naturall mans interpretation,* nor any King in a *private mans.* But then, how soone our

2 Sam. 19.12

⁴⁹⁰ adversaries come to call Kings, ill Kings, we see historically, when they boast of having deposed Kings, *Quia minus utiles,* Because some other hath seemed to them, fitter for the Government; and we see it prophetically, by their allowing those Indictments, and Attainders of Kings, which stand in their books *De Syndicatu,* That that King which neglects the duties of his place (and they must prescribe the duty, and judge the negligence too) That King, that exercises his Prerogative, without just cause (and they must prescribe the Prerogative, and judge the cause,) That that King that vexes his Subjects, That that King that gives himselfe to *intemperate hunting* (for in

⁵⁰⁰ that very particular they instance) that in such cases, (and they multiply these cases infinitely) Kings are in their mercy, and subject to their censures, and corrections. We proceed not so, in censuring the actions of Kings; we say, with St. *Cyrill, Impium est dicere Regi, Inique agis; It is an impious thing,* (in him, who is onely a private man, and hath no other obligations upon him) *to say to the King, or of the King, He governs not as a King is bound to do:* we remit the judgement of those their actions, which are secret to God; and when they are evident, and bad, yet we must endevour to preserve their persons; for there is a danger in the losse, and a lamentation due ⁵¹⁰ to the losse, even of *Zedekiah,* for even such are *uncti Domini, The anoynted of the Lord, and the breath of our nostrils.*

First, (as it lies in our Text) The King is *Spiritus narium, the breath of our nostrills.* First, *Spiritus*, is a name, most peculiarly belonging to that blessed Person of the glorious Trinity, whose Office it is to convoy, to insinuate, to apply to us the Mercies of the Father, and the Merits of the Sonne: He is called by this Name, by the word of this Text, *Ruach*, even in the beginning of the Creation, God had created Heaven and Earth, and then *The Spirit of God, sufflabat*, saith *Pagnins* translation, (and so saith the *Chalde Paraphrase* too)

*Spiritus
Narium*

[Gen. 1.2]

⁵²⁰ it *breathed upon the waters*, and so induced, or deduced particular formes. So God hath made us, a little World of our own, This *lland*; He hath given us *Heaven and Earth*, The truth of his Gospel, which is our earnest of Heaven, and the abundance of the Earth, a fruitfull Land; but then he, who is the Spirit of the Lord, he who is the breath of our nostrills, *Incubat aquis*, (as it is said there in the Creation) he moves upon *the waters*, by his royll and warlike *Navy at Sea*, (in which he hath expressed a speciall and particular care) And by the breath and influence of his providence throughout the Land, he preserves, he applies, he makes usefull those blessings unto us.

⁵³⁰ If this breath, that is, this power, be at any time sourd in the passage, and contract an il favor by the pipes that convoy it, so, as that his good intentions are ill executed by inferiour Ministers, this must not be imputed to him; That breath that comes from the East, the bed and the garden of spices, when it is breathed out there, is a perfume, but by passing over the beds of Serpents and putrefied Lakes, it may be a breath of poyson in the West: Princes purpose some things for ease to the people, (and as such, they are sometimes presented to them) and if they prove grievantes, they tooke their putrefaction in the way, that is, their corruption, from corrupt executors of good and ⁵⁴⁰ wholesome intentions; The thing was good in the roote, and the ill cannot be removed in an instant.

But then, we carry not this word *Ruach*, Spirit, so high; though since God hath said that Kings are Gods, the Attribute of the Holy Ghost and his Office, which is, to apply to man the goodnesse of God, belongs to Kings also; for, God gives, but they apply all blessings to us. But here, we take the word literally, as it is in the Text; *Ruach, spirit, is the Breath that we breathe, the Life that we live;* The King is that *Breath*, that *Life*, and therefore that belongs to him. First our

*Spiritus
sermo*

[Psa. 100.4]

Breath, that is, *sermo*, our speech belongs to him; *Be faithfull unto*
⁵⁵⁰ *him, and speake good of his Name*, is commanded by David of God.

[Psa. 14.1]

To Gods Anointed, we are not *faithfull*, if we doe not speake good of his Name. First, there is an *internall* speech in the *heart*, and God lookes to that; *The foole hath said in his heart, there is no God*; though he say it but in his heart, yet he is a foole: for, as wise as a Politician would thinke him, for saying it in his heart, and comming no further, yet even that is an overt act with God, for God seeth the heart. It is the foole that saith in his heart, there is no God, and it is the foole that saith in his heart, I would there were no *King*. That enormous, that infamous Tragedy of the *Levites Concubine*, and her

Iud. 19.30

⁵⁶⁰ murder, of which it is said there, *There was no such thing seen, nor done before*, (and many things are done, which are never seen) with that emphaticall addition, *Consider of it, advise, and say your minde*, hath this addition too, *In those dayes there was no King in Israel*; If there had beene any King, but a *Zedekiah*, it could not have been so: *Curse not the King, not in thy thoughts*: for, they are sinnes that tread upon the heels of one another, and that induce one another to conceive ill of Gods Lievttenant, and of God himselfe; for so the Prophet joyneth them, *They shall fret themselves, and curse their King, and their God*: He that beginneth with the one, will proceed

⁵⁷⁰ to the other.

Thus then he is our Breath; *our Breath is his; our speech* must be contained, not expressed in his dishonour; not in misinterpretations of his Actions; jealousies have often made women ill; incredulitie, suspiciousnesse, jealousie in the Subject, hath wrought ill effects upon Princes, otherwise not ill. We must *not speake ill*; but our duty is not accomplished in that abstinence, we must *speake well*: And in those things, which will not admit a good interpretation, we must be apt to remove the perversenesse and obliquity of the act from him, who is the first mover to those who are *inferiour instruments*. In these ⁵⁸⁰ divers opinions which are ventilated in the Schoole, *how God concurreth to the working of second and subordinate causes*, that opinion is I think, the most antient, that denies that God *workes in* the second cause, but hath onely *communicated* to it, a power of working, and rests himselfe. This is not true; God does work in every Organ, and in every particular action; but yet though he doe work in all, yet hee

is no cause of the obliquity, of the perversenesse of any action. Now, earthly Princes are not equall to God; They doe not so much as work in particular actions of instruments; many times, they communicate power to others, and rest wholly themselves; and then, the *power* is
 590 from them, but the *perversenesse* of the action is not. God does work in ill actions, and yet is not guilty, but Princes doe not so much as worke therein, and so may bee excusable; at least, for any cooperation in the evill of the action, though not for countenancing, and authorising an evill instrument; but that is another case.

They are our breath then; *Our breath is theirs*, in good interpretations of their actions; and it is theirs especially, *in our prayers* to Almighty God, for them. The Apostle exhorts us to pray; for whom? first, *for all men* in generall; but in the first particular, that hee descends to, *for Kings*. And both *Theodoret*, and *Theophylact*, make
 600 that the onely reason, why the Apostle did not name Kings first, *Vt non videatur adulari*, lest hee should seeme to flatter Kings: Whether mankinde it selfe, or Kings, by whom mankinde is happy here, be to be preferred in prayer, you see both *Theodoret*, and *Theophylact*, make it a probleme. And those prayers, there enjoyned, were for *Infidel Kings*, and for *persecuting Kings*; for even such Kings, were the breath of their nostrils; their breath, their speech, their prayers were due to them. But then, beloved, a man may convey a *Satir* into a *Prayer*; a man may make a prayer a *Libell*; If the intention of the prayer be not so much, to incline God to give those graces to the

610 King, as to tell the world, that the King wants those graces, it is a Libell. We say sometimes in scorn to a man, *God help you*, and *God send you wit*; and therein, though it have the sound of a prayer, wee call him foole. So wee have seen of late, some in obscure Conventicles, institute certain prayers, *That God would keep the King, and the Prince in the true Religion*; The prayer is always good, always usefull; but when that prayer is accompanied with circumstances, as though the King and the Prince were declining from that Religion, then even the prayer it selfe is libellous, and seditious; Saint *Paul*, in that former place, apparels a Subjects prayer well, when hee sayes,
 620 *Let prayers bee given with thanks*; Let our prayers bee for continuance of the blessings, which wee have, and let our acknowledgement of present blessings, bee an inducement for future: pray, and praise

1 Tim. 2.1

together; pray thankfully, pray not suspiciously: for, beloved in the bowels of Christ Jesus, before whose face I stand now, and before whose face, I shall not be able to stand amongst the righteous, at the last day, if I lie now, and make this Pulpit my Shop, to vent sophisticate Wares, In the presence of you, a holy part, I hope, of the Militant Church, of which I am, In the presence of the whole Triumphant Church, of which, by him, by whom I am that I am, I hope to bee,

⁶³⁰ In the presence of the Head of the whole Church, who is All in all, I, (*and I thinke I have the Spirit of God,*) (I am sure, I have not resisted it in this point) I, (and I may bee allowed to know something in Civill affaires) (I am sure I have not been stupefied in this point) doe deliver that, which upon the truth of a Morall man, and a Christian man, and a Church man, beleieve to be true, That hee, who is *the Breath of our nostrils*, is in his heart, as farre from submitting us to that Idolatry, and superstition, which did heretofore oppresse us, as his immediate Predecessor, whose memory is justly precious to you, was: Their wayes may bee divers, and yet their end the same, that is,

⁶⁴⁰ The glory of God; And to a higher Comparison, then to her, I know not how to carry it.

As then the Breath of our nostrils, our breath, is his, that is, *our speech*, first, in *containing* it, not to speak in his diminution; then in *uttering* it *amongst men*; to interpret fairly, and loiallly, his proceedings; and then in uttering it to *God*, in such prayers for the continuing thereof, as imply a thankfull acknowledgement of the present blessings, spirituall and temporall, which we enjoy now by him; So farre, *Breath is speech*; but *Breath is life too*, and so *our life is his*. How willingly his Subjects would give their lives for him, I make no doubt, but hee doubts not. This is argument enough for their propensenesse and readinesse, to give their lives, for his honour, or for the *possessions of his children*; That though not *Contra voluntatem*, not against his will, yet *Præter voluntatem*, without any Declaration of his will, or pleasure, by any Command, they have been as ready voluntarily, as if a *Presse* had commanded them. But these ways, which his wisdome hath chosen for the procuring of peace, have kept off much occasion of triall, of that, how willingly his Subjects would have given their lives for him. Yet, their lives are his, who is the breath of their nostrils: And therefore, though they doe not *leave*

⁶⁶⁰ them for him, let them *lead* them for him; though they bee not called to die for him, let them live so, as that may bee for him; to live *peaceably*, to live *honestly*, to live *industriously*, is to live for him; for, the sinnes of the people endanger the Prince, as much as his owne. When that shall bee required at your hand, then die for him; In the meane time, live for him; live so, as your living doe not kindle Gods anger against him, and that is a good Confession, and acknowledgement, That *hee is the breath of your nostrils*, That your life is his.

As then the breath of our nostrils, is expressed by this word in this Text, *Ruach, spiritus, speech, and life*, so it is his. When the breath ⁶⁷⁰ of life was first breathed into man, there it is called by another word, *Neshamah*, and that is the *soule*, the immortall soule: And is the King the breath of that life? Is hee the soule of his Subjects so, as that their *soules* are *his*; so, as that they must sinne *towards men*, in doing unjust actions, or sinne *towards God*, in forsaking, and dishonouring him, if the King will have them? If I had the honour to aske this question, in his royll presence, I know he would bee the first man, that would say *No, No*; your souls are not mine, so. And, as hee is a most perfect Text-man, in the Booke of God, (and by the way, I should not easily feare his being a *Papist*, that is a good *Text-man*)

⁶⁸⁰ I know hee would cite *Daniel*, saying, *Though our God doe not deliver us, yet know, O King, that we will not worship thy Gods*; And I know hee would cite *S. Peter*, *We ought to obey God, rather then men*; And he would cite *Christ* himself, *Feare not them*, (for the soule) *that cannot hurt the soule*. He claimes not your souls so: It is *Ruach* here, it is not *Neshamah*; your life is his, your soule is not his, in that sense. But yet, beloved, these two words are promiscuously used in the Scriptures; *Ruach* is often the *soule*; *Neshamah* is often the temporall life; And thus farre, the one, as well as the other, is the Kings, That hee must *answer for your soules*; so *they are his*; for hee

⁶⁹⁰ is not a King of *bodies*, but a King of *men*, bodies and soules; nor a King of *men* onely, but of *Christian men*; so your *Religion*, so your soules are *his*; his, that is, appertaining to *his care, and his account*. And therefore, though you owe no obedience to any power under heaven, so as to decline you from the true God, or the true worship of that God, and the fundamentall things thereof, yet in those things, which are, in their nature but circumstantiall, and may therefore,

Anima

Gen. 2.7

[Dan. 3.18]

Act. 5.29

[Mat. 10.28]

[Heb. 13.17]

according to times, and places, and persons, admit alterations, in those things, though they bee things appertaining to Religion, submit your selves to his directions; for here, the two words meet, *Ruach*, and ⁷⁰⁰ *Neshamah*, your lives are his, and your souls are his too; His end being to advance Gods truth, he is to be trusted much, in matters of *indifferent* nature, by the way.

He is the word of our Text, *Spiritus*, as *Spiritus* is the Holy Ghost, so farre, by accommodation, as that he is Gods instrument to convey blessings upon us; and as *spiritus* is our *breath*, or *speech*, and as it is *our life*, and as it is *our soule* too, so farre, as that in those temporall things which concern spirituall, (as *Times* of meeting, and much of the *manner* of proceeding when we are met) we are to receive directions from him: So he is the *breath* of our *nostrils*, our *speech*, our ⁷¹⁰ *lives*, our *soules*, in that limited sense, are his.

[1 Cor. 5.12]

But then, did those subjects of his (And I charge none but his *Subjects*, with this plot, for, *I judge not them who are without*) from whom God delivered us this day, did they think so of him, That he was the breath of our nostrils? If the breath be soure, if it bee tainted and corrupt, (as they would needs thinke, in this case) is it good Physick for an ill breath, to cut off the head, or to suffocate it, to smother, to strangle, to murder that man? Hee is the breath of their nostrils; They owe him their *speech*, their *thanks*, their *prayers*, and how have these *children of fooles* made him their *song*, and their *by-*

Iob 30.8, 9

⁷²⁰ *word*? How have these Drunkards, (men drunke with the Babylonian Cup) made Libels against him? How have those *Seminatores verborum*, *word-scatterers*, defamed him, even with contrary defamations. Heretofore, that he *persecuted their Religion*, when he did not; now, that he hath *left his own Religion*. He is their breath, they owe him their *tongues*, and how foully do they speak; and they owe him their *lives*, and how prodigally do they give away their lives to others, that they might take away His? He is their breath, (as breath is the soule) that is, *Accomptant for their soules*, and how have they raised themselves out of his Audit, and withdrawne themselves from ⁷³⁰ his Allegiance? This they have done historically, and to say prophetically, what they would do, first, their *Extenuation* of this fact, when they call it an enterprise of a few unfortunate Gentlemen. And then their *Exaltation* of this fact, when they make the principall person in

Act. 17.18

it, a *Martyr*, this is prophecy enough, that since they are not ashamed of the Originall, they will not be afraid to copy it often, and pursue the same practises, to the same end.

Let it be *Josiah* then, let it be *Zedekiah*, he was the Breath, the life of his Subjects, (and that was the first attribute) and he was *The Anoynted of the Lord*, which is the other. *Vnction* it self alwayes ⁷⁴⁰ separated that which was anoynted from prophane, and secular use; unction was a religious distinction. It had that signification in practise, before any Law was given for it; when *Jacob* had had that vision upon the stone, which made him see, that *that place was the house of God, and the gate of heaven*, then he tooke up that stone which he had slept upon, and set it up for a pillar, and anoynted it. This was the *practise in nature*; and then the *precept in the Law*, was, as for the Altar it self, so for many other things, belonging to the service of God in the Temple, *Thou shalt anoynt them, to sanctifie them*. Thus it was for *things*; and then, if we consider *persons*, we see the dignity ⁷⁵⁰ that anoynting gave; for it was given but to three *sorts* of persons, to *Kings*, to *Priests*, and to *Prophets*: *Kings*, and *Priests* had it, to testifie their ordinary, and permanent, and indelible jurisdiction, their power is laid on *in Oyle*; And *Prophets* had it, because they were extraordinarily raised to denounce, and to execute Gods Judgements, upon persons that were anoynted, upon *Priests*, and upon *Kings* too, in those cases, for which, they were then particularly employed. Thus then it is, anoynted things could not be touched, but by anoynted persons, and then anoynted persons could not be touched, but by persons anoynted; The *Priest* not directed, but by the *King*; The *King*, ⁷⁶⁰ as *King*, not corrected, but by the *Prophet*: And this was the State, that they lamented so compassionately, That their *King*, thus anoynted, thus *exempted*, was taken prisoner, saw his Sonnes slaine in his presence, and then had his owne eyes pulled out, was bound in chains, and carried to *Babell*.

And lesse then this, in himself, and in his Sonne, and in all, was not intended this day, against our, not *Zedekiah*, but *Josiah*: for death (speaking in nature) hath all particular miseries in it. An anoynted King (and *many Kings* anoynted there are *not*) and he that is anoynted *p̄e Consortibus suis*, above his fellow Kings, (*for, I* ⁷⁷⁰ *think, no other King of his Religion, is anoynted*) The anoynted of

*Unctus
Domini*

Gen. 28.17

Exod. 29.36

Iudg. 9.14,

15

2 Sam. 1.21

[Rev. 6.10]

Coquæus

fo. 18

fol. 39

fol. 43

fol. 78

fol. 65

Captus

the Lord, who in this Text hath both those great names, *Meshiach Jehovah, Christus Domini*, as though he had been but *the Bramble anoynted for King of the Trees*, and so made the fitter fuel for their fire, as though (as *Davids lamentation is for Saul*) *He had not been anoynted with Oyle*, This eye of God, he by whom God looks upon us, This hand of God, he by whom God protects us, This foote of God, he by whom, in his due time, (and *Vsquequo Domine*, How long, O Lord, before that time come?) God shall tread downe, his owne, and our enemies, was swallowed and devoured by them, in ⁷⁸⁰ their confidence of their owne plot, and their infallible assurance of his perishing. So it was historically; And how it stands prophetically, that is, What such as they were, would do for the future; as long as they write, (not in Libels clandestinely and subreptitiously stollen out, but avowed by publique Authority) *That our Priests are no Priests, but the Priests of Baal*, for so they write, *That the conspiracy of this day, being against him, who oppressed Religion, was as just, as that against Cæsar*, who did but oppresse the State, And that they write, *That those who were the actors herein, are therefore saved*, because at their execution, they submitted all to the Romane Church, ⁷⁹⁰ and were content, if the Church condemned it, then to repent the Fact, for so they write also, *That the Religion of our present King, is no better, then the Religion of Jeroboam, or of Numa Pompilius*, for so they write too, that the last *Queene*, though an *Heretique*, yet because she was *Anointed*, did cure that disease, *The Kings evill*, but because, in scorne thereof, the King refused to be anointed at his Coronation, therefore hee cannot cure that disease, and so *non dicendus unctus Domini*, he is not to be called the Anointed of the Lord, says that Author, (for all these are the words of one man, and one, who had no other provocation to say all this but onely ⁸⁰⁰ *the Kings Apology for the oath of Allegiance*) by retaining in their avowed books, and by relying upon such Authors, and Authorities as these, which remaine for their future instruction, we see their dispositions for the future, and judge of them prophetically, as well as historically.

Now the misery which is here lamented, the declination of the kingdome, in the person of the King, is thus expressed, *He was taken in their pits; taken, and taken in pits, and taken in their pits*, are so many staires, so many descents, so many gradations (rather degrada-

tions) in this calamity. Let it bee *Josiah*, let it bee *Zedekiah*; *They were taken*; taken, and never returned; Let it bee our *Josiah*, and will it hold in that application? Was hee taken? Hee was plotted for, but was hee *Taken*? When hee himselfe takes publique knowledge, that both at home and abroad, those of the Romane persuasion, assured themselves, of some especiall worke, for the advancement of their cause, at that time, when they had taken that assurance, hee was so taken, taken in that their assurance, infallibly taken in their opinion; so, as this kingdome was taken in their opinion, who thought their *Navy invincible*; so this King was taken in their assurance, who thought this plot infallible.

Hee was taken, and *in fovea, in a pit*, says the Text; If our first ⁸¹⁰ translation would serve, the sorrow were the lesse, for there it is, he was taken in *their net*; now, a man that *flattereth*, spreadeth a net, and a Prince that discerns not a flatterer, from a Counsellor, is taken in *a net*; but that's not so desperate, as in a pit: In *Josiahs* case, it was a pit, a *Grave*; in *Zedekiahs* case, it was a pit, a *Prison*: in our *Josiahs* case, it was fully, as it is in the Text, not in *fovea*, but *in foveis*, plurallly, in their *pits*, in their *divers* pits; death in the mine where they beganne, death in the Cellar where they pursued their mischiefe.

And then it was *in foveis Illorum, in their pits*, says the Text; but the Text does not tell us, in whose; in the verse before, it is said, *Our 830 persecutors did this*, and this, then it followes, *Hee was taken in their pits*; In the persecutors pits certainly; but yet, who are they? If it were *Josiah* that was taken, the persecutor was *Necho*, King of *Egypt*, for from his army, *Josiah* received his deaths wound: If it were *Zedekiah*, the persecutor was *Nebuchadnezzar* King of *Babylon*, for hee carried *Zedekiah* into captivity. Certainly the holy Ghost knew well enough, and could have spoken plaine, whose these pits were, but it pleased him to forbeare *names*. Certainly *our Josiah* knowes well enough, whose, those pits, which were digged for him, were; but, according to his naturall sweetnesse, to decline the drawing ⁸⁴⁰ of more bloud, then necessarily hee must, or the laying of imputations and aspersions upon more, then necessarily hee must, hee hath forborne names. The holy Ghost knowes better then all the expositors, in all our Libraries, who digged those pits, our *Josiah* knowes, better then all wee, who come but to celebrate, and solemnize the deliver-

Fovea

Foveis

Illorum

2 Chron.

35.23

ance, whose hands, and whose counsails were in the digging of these pits too. *Hee was taken*, says our Text: *fuit, hee Was*. Fix that in *Josiah*, who was taken, and never taken back: fix it in *Zedekiah*, who was taken, and never taken back; they both perished; in both them, there is just cause, of perpetuall, and permanent lamentation, and no

[Psa. 16.10;
Acts 2.27]

⁸⁵⁰ roome left, for the exercise of any other affection. But transfer it to our *Josiah*, and then, *Hee was taken*, is, *Hee was but taken; God did not suffer his holy one to see Corruption*, nor God did not suffer his

Anointed, to perish in this taking; And so the *lamentation* is become (as wee said at first) a *Congratulation*, so our *Væ* is an *Euge*, our exclamation turned to acclamation; and so our *De profundis*, is a *Gloria in excelsis*, The pit, the vault is become a hill, from whence we may behold the power of our great God; this *Sepher kinoth*, the book of *Lamentations*, is become *Sepher tehillim*, the book of *Psalmes*, and thanksgivings; And *Davids Bonus es omnibus, Lord*

[Psa. 145.9]
[Psa. 147.20]

⁸⁶⁰ *thou art good to all*, is come to *Moses non taliter, Lord thou hast not done so well, with any nation*, as with us; for when we might have fear'd a *dereliquisti*, that God had forsaken us, we had S. *Augustines appropinquavi & nesciebam*, we came nearer and nearer to God, and knew it not, we knew not our danger, and therefore knew not his speciall Protection. It was one particular degree of his mercy, to proceed so: As it is an ease to a man, not to heare of his friends sicknesse, till he heare it, by hearing of his recovery, so God did not shake us, with the knowledge of the danger, till he established us, with the deliverance: And by making his servant, and our Soveraigne, the

⁸⁷⁰ blessed means of that discovery, and that deliverance, he hath directed us, in all apprehensions of dangers, to rely upon that *Wisdome*, in civill affaires, affaires of State, and upon that *Zeale*, in causes of Religion, which he hath imprinted in that soule. Historically, God hath done great things for us, by him; Prophetically, God hath great things to doe for us, and all the Christian world, and will make him, his Instrument to doe them.

Auxilia

Now, we reserved at first, for the last gaspe, and for the knot to tie up all, this Consideration: That he that was truely affected in the sad sense of such a danger, and the pious sense of such a deliverance, ⁸⁸⁰ would also use all means in his power, to secure the future, that that Kingdome, in that King, might alwayes bee safe, from the like dan-

gers. No doubt, our *Josiah* doth that, in that which appertaineth unto him; and *all*, that is, The *care of all*, appertaineth unto him. If God had made him his *Rod*, to scourge others with Warres and Armies, we might be affraid, that when God had done his worke by him, he would *cast the rod in the fire*; God doth not alwayes blesse those Instruments, who love blood, though they pretend his Glory. But since God hath made him his *Dove*, to flie over the world, with the Olive branch, with indevours of Peace, in all places, as the Dove did,
⁸⁹⁰ so he shall ever bring his Olive branch to the Arke, that is, endevour onely such peace, as may advance the Church of God, and establish peace of Conscience in himself.

That care, on his part, shall preserve him: And for his preservation, and ours in him, these things are to be done on our part: First, let us returne to God, so, as God may looke upon us, clothed in the righteouesesse of Christ; who will not be put on, as a fair gowne, to cover course clothes; but first put off your sinnes, and then put on him; sinnes of the *Time*, sinnes of your *Age*, sinnes of your *Sex*, sinnes of your *Complexion*, sinnes of your *Profession*; put off all; for your
⁹⁰⁰ Time, your Age, your Sex, your Complexion, your Profession, shall not be damned; but you, you your selves shall. Doe not thinke that your *Sundayes zeale* once a weeke, can burn out all your extortions, and oppressions, and usury, and butchery, and simony, and chambering and wantonnesse practised from Monday to Saterday. Doe not thinke it to bee so with the Spirituall man, as with the Naturall: In a Naturall body, a great proportion of Choler will rectifie a cold, or old, or flegmatique man; he is the better, for having so much choler; but a vehement zeale on Sunday, doth not rectifie the sixe dayes sinner: To cry out then, I am sterred for want of an *afternoon Sermon*,
⁹¹⁰ and to fast all the weeke long, so as never to taste how sweet the Lord is, in thy cleansing thy heart, and withdrawing thy hand from sinne, this is no good diet; Not onely upon your Allegiance to God, but upon your Allegiance to the King, be good: No Prince can have a better guard, then Subjects truly religious. *Quantus murus patriæ est vir justus*, is S. *Ambrose* his holy exclamation, What a wall to a City, what a Sea, what a Navy to an Iland, is a holy man? The sins of former times, the sins and provocations of *Manasseh*, lay heavy upon *Josiah*, as well as God loved him. The sins of our daies, our sins,

[Gen. 8.11]

Ne
peccemus

2 Reg. 23.26

may open any Prince to Gods anger. This is the first way of preserving our *Josiah*, to turn away the wrath of God, by our abstinence from future sinnes, after our repentance of former.

Honor

A second is, to uphold his honour and estimation with other men; especially amongst *strangers* that live with us, who for the most part, value Princes so, as they finde their subjects to value them. *Ambassadors* have ever been sacred persons, and partakers of great privileges. A Prince, that lives as ours, in the eye of many Ambassadors, is not as the *children of Israel*, in the midst of *Canaanites*, and *Jebusites*, and *Ammonites*, who all watched the destruction of *Israel*; but he is in the midst of *Tutelar Angels*, *Nationall Angels*, who study (by Gods grace, and as it becomes us to hope) the peace and welfare of the *Christian State*. But then all strangers in the land, are not noble, and candid, and ingenuous *Ambassadors*; and even *Ambassadors* themselves may be misled to an undervalue of the Prince, by rumours, and by disloyal, and by negligent speaches, from the Subject; we have not yet felt *Solomons whippes*; but our whinings and repinings, and discontents may bring us to *Rehoboams Scorpions*. This way hath a part, in the Kings safetie, and in our safety, to hold in our selves, and to convay to strangers, a good estimation of that happy government, which is truly good in it self.

¹ Reg. 12.11

Subsidia

⁹⁴⁰ And then a third, and very important way towards his preservation, is, a cheerfull disposition, to supply, and to support, and to assist him, with such things as are necessary for his outward dignity. When God himselfe was the immediate King of the Israelites, and governed them, by himself, he took it ill, that they would depart from him, who needed nothing of theirs, for there could be no other King, but must necessarily be supplyed by them: And yet, consider, Beloved, what God, who needed nothing, took: The *sacrifices* of the Jews, were such, as would have kept divers Royall houses: Take a bill of them, but in one Passeover, that *Josiah* kept, and compare that and other the like, with the smallness of the land, that they possessed, and you will see, that that they gave, was a very great proportion. Now, it is the service of God, to contribute to *the King*, as well as to *the Priest*: He that gives to a Prophet, shall have a Prophets reward; he that gives to the King, shall have a Kings reward, a Crown, in those cases, where to give to your King, is to give to *God*, that is, where

² Chron.

35. [7]

[Mat. 10.41]

⁹⁵⁰ other the like, with the smallness of the land, that they possessed, and you will see, that that they gave, was a very great proportion. Now, it is the service of God, to contribute to *the King*, as well as to *the Priest*: He that gives to a Prophet, shall have a Prophets reward; he that gives to the King, shall have a Kings reward, a Crown, in those cases, where to give to your King, is to give to *God*, that is, where

the peace of the State, and the glory of God in his Gospel depends much, upon the sustentation of the estimation, and outward honour and splendour of the King: preserve him so, and he shall the lesse be subject to these dangers, of such falling into their pits.

96^o But lastly, and especially, let us preserve him, by preserving God amongst us, in the true, and sincere profession of our Religion. Let not a mis-grounded, and disloyall imagination of coolness in him, cool you, in your own families. *Omnis spiritus, qui solvit Iesum*, says the Apostle, in the *Vulgat*, every spirit that *dissolves* Jesus, that *embraces not Jesus intirely*, *All Jesus*, and *All his*, *All his Truth*, and *all that suffer for that Truth, is not of God*. Doe not say, I will hold as much of Jesus, as shall be necessary, so much as shall distinguish me from a *Turk*, or a *Iew*, but if I may be the better, for parting with some of the rest, why should I not? Doe not say, I will hold All, my 97^o self, but let my wife, or my son, or one of my sons, goe the other way, as though *Protestant*, and *Papist* were two severall callings; and, as you would make one son a Lawyer, another a Merchant, you will make one son a *Papist*, another a *Protestant*. Excuse not your own levity, with so high a dishonor to the Prince; when have you heard, that ever he thanked any man, for becoming a *Papist*? Leave his dores to himselfe; The dores into his kingdome, *The Ports*, and the dores in his kingdome, *The prisons*; Let him open and shut his dores, as God shall put into his minde: look thou seriously to thine own dores, to thine own family, and keep all right there. A Thief that is let out of 98^o New-gate is not therefore let into thy house; A Priest that is let out of prison, is not therefore let into thy house neither: still it may be felony, to harbour him, though there were mercy in letting him out. Cities are built of families, and so are Churches too; Every man keeps his owne family, and then every Pastor shall keep his flock, and so the Church shall be free from schisme, and the State from sedition, and our *Josiah* preserved, Prophetically for ever, as he was Historically this day, from them, in whose pits, the breath of our nostrils, the anointed of the Lord, was taken. *Amen.*

Religio

1 John 4.3

Number 10.

*A Sermon Preached to the Honourable
Company of the Virginian Plantation.
13° November 1622. By John Donne
Deane of St. Pauls, London.*

*London. Printed by A. Mat. for Thomas Jones and are to [be] sold at his
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Church. 1622.*

[DEDICATORY EPISTLE]

To the HONORABLE COMPANY OF THE VIRGINIAN PLANTATION

By your favours, I had some place amongst you, before: but now I am an Adventurer; if not to VIRGINIA, yet for VIRGINIA; for, every man, that Prints, Adventures. For the Preaching of this Sermon, I was but under your Invitation; my Time was mine owne, and my Meditations mine owne: and I had beene excusable towards you, if I had turnd that Time, and those Meditations, to GODS service, in any other place. But for the Printing of this Sermon, I am not onely under your Invitation, but under your Commandement; for, after it was preach'd, it was not mine, but yours: And therefore, if I gave it at first, I doe but restore it now. The first was an act of Love; this, of Justice; both which Vertues, Almighty God evermore promove, and exalt in all your proceedings. Amen.

Your humble Servant
in Christ Jesus

JOHN DONNE

ACTS 1.8. *BUT YEE SHALL RECEIVE POWER, AFTER THAT THE HOLY GHOST IS COME UPON YOU, AND YEE SHALL BE WITNESSES UNTO ME BOTH IN JERUSALEM, AND IN ALL JUDEA, AND IN SAMARIA, AND UNTO THE UTTERMOST PART OF THE EARTH.*

THESE ARE reckoned in this booke, 22. *Sermons of the Apostles*; and yet the booke is not called the *Preaching*, but the *Practise*, not the *Words*, but the *Acts of the Apostles*: and the *Acts of the Apostles* were to convey that name of *Christ Jesus*, and to propagate his *Gospell*, over all the world: Beloved, you are *Actors* upon the same Stage too: the uttermost part of the Earth are your *Scene*: act over the *Acts of the Apostles*; bee you a light to the *Gentiles*, that sit in darkenesse; be you content to carry him over these *Seas*, who dryed up one *Red Sea* for his first people, and hath powred
¹⁰ out another *red Sea*, his owne bloud, for them and us. When man was fallen, *God* clothed him; made him a Leather Garment; there *God* descended to one occupation; when the time of mans redemp-
tion was come, then *God*, as it were, to house him, became a *Carpenters Sonne*; there *God* descended to another occupation. Naturally, without doubt, man would have beene his own Taylor, and his owne Carpenter; something in these two kinds man would have done of himselfe, though hee had no patterne from *God*: but in preserving man who was fallen, to this redemption, by which he was to be raisd, in preserving man from perishing, in the Flood, *God*
²⁰ descended to a third occupation, to be his *Shipwright*, to give him the modell of a Ship, an *Arke*, and so to be the author of that, which man himselfe in likelihood, would never have thought of, a means to passe from *Nation* to *Nation*. Now, as *GOD* taught us to make cloathes, not onely to cloath our selves, but to cloath him in his poore and naked members heere; as *God* taught us to build houses, not to house

our selves, but to house him, in erecting *Churches*, to his glory: So *God* taught us to make *Ships*, not to transport our selves, but to transport him, *That when wee have received power, after that the Holy Ghost is come upon us, we might be witnesses unto him, both*
³⁰ *in Jerusalem, and in all Judæa, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost parts of the Earth.*

As I speake now principally to them who are concernd in this *Plantation* of *Virginia*, yet there may be divers in this Congregation, who, though they have no interest in this *Plantation*, yet they may have benefit and edification, by that which they heare me say, so *Christ* spoke the words of this *Text*, principally to the *Apostles*, who were present and questioned him at his *Ascension*, but they are in their just extention, and due accomodation, appliable to our present occation of meeting heere: As *Christ* himselfe is *Alpha*, and *Omega*,
⁴⁰ so first, as that hee is last too, so these words which he spoke in the *East*, belong to us, who are to glorifie him in the *West*; *That we having received power, after that the Holy Ghost is come upon us, might be witnesses unto him, both in Jerusalem, and in all Judea, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost parts of the Earth.*

The first word of the *Text* is the *Cardinall* word, the word, the *hinge* upon which the whole *Text* turnes; The first word, *But*, is the *But*, that all the rest shoots at. First it is an *exclusive* word; something the *Apostles* had required, which might not bee had; not that; And it is an *inclusive* word; something *Christ* was pleasd to affoord
⁵⁰ to the *Apostles*, which they thought not of; not that, not that which you beat upon, *But*, but yet, something else, something better then that, you shall have. That which this but, *excludes*, is that which the *Apostles* expresse in the *Verse* immediatly before the *Text*, a *Temporall Kingdome*; *Wilt thou restore againe the kingdome of Israel?* No; not a temporall Kingdome; let not the riches and commodities of this World, be in your contemplation in your adventures. Or, because they aske more, *Wilt thou now restore that?* not yet: If I will give you riches, and commodities of this world, yet if I doe it not at first, if I doe it not yet, be not you discouraged; you shall not have
⁶⁰ *that*, that is not *Gods* first intention; and though that be in *Gods* intention, to give it you hereafter, you shall not have it yet; thats the *exclusive* part; *But*; there enters the *inclusive*, *You shall receive*

power, after that the *Holy Ghost* is come upon you, and you shall bee witnesses unto mee, both in *Jerusalem*, and in all *Judæa*, and in *Samaria*, and unto the uttermost parts of the Earth. In which second part, we shall passe by these steps; *Superveniet Spiritus*, The *holy Ghost* shall come upon you, *The Spirit* shall witnesse to *your Spirit*, and rectifie your Conscience; And then, by that, you shall receive power; A new power besides the power you have from the *State*, and
 70 that power shall enable you, to be witnesses of *Christ*, that is, to make his doctrine the more credible, by your testimony, when you con forme your selves to him, and doe as hee did; and this witnesse you shall beare, this conformity you shall declare, first in *Jerusalem*, in this *Citie*; And in *Iudæa*, in all the parts of the *Kingdome*; and in *Samaria*, even amongst them who are departed from the true worship of *God*, the *Papists*; and to the uttermost part of the Earth, to those poore *Soules*, to whom you are continually sending. Summarily, If from the *Holy Ghost* you have a good testimony in your owne Con science, you shall be witnesses for *Christ*, that is, as he did, you shall
 80 give satisfaction to all, to the *Citie*, to the *Country*, to the *Calumniating Adversary*, and the *Naturals* of the place, to whom you shall present both *Spirituall* and *Temporall* benefit to. And so you have the *Modell* of the whole frame, and of the partitions; we proceede now to the furnishing of the particular roomes.

1. *Part.*

First then, this first word, *But*, excludes a temporall Kingdome; the *Apostles* had filld themselves with an expectation, with an ambition of it; but that was not intended them. It was no wonder, that a woman could conceive such an expectation, and such an ambition,
 90 as to have her two sonnes sit at *Christs* right hand, and at his left, in his Kingdome, when the *Apostles* expected such a Kingdome, as might affoord them honours and preferment upon Earth. More then once they were in that disputation, in which *Christ* deprehended them, *Which of them should bee the greatest in his Kingdome*. Neither hath the *Bishop of Rome*, any thing, wherein he may so properly call himselfe *Apostolicall*, as this error of the *Apostles*, this their infirmitie, that he is evermore too conversant upon the contemplation of temporall Kingdomes. They did it all the way, when

Mat. 20.20

Mat. 18.1

Athanas.

Christ was with them, and now at his last step, *Cum actu ascendisset*,
¹⁰⁰ when *Christ* was not *Ascending*, but in part *ascended*, when one foot
 was upon the Earth, and the other in the cloud that tooke him up,
 they aske him now, *wilt thou at this time, restore the Kingdome?* So
 women put their husbands, and men their fathers, and friends,
 upon their torture, at their last gaspe, and make their death-bed a
 racke to make them stretch and encrease joyntures, and portions, and
 legacies, and signe Schedules and Codicils, with their hand, when his
 hand that presents them, is ready to close his eyes, that should signe
 them: And when they are upon the wing for heaven, men tye lead
 to their feet, and when they are laying hand-fast upon *Abrahams*
¹¹⁰ bosome, they must pull their hand out of his bosome againe, to obey
 importunitiess of men, and signe their papers: so undeterminable is
 the love of this World, which determines every minute. GOD, as
 hee is three persons, hath three Kingdomes; There is *Regnum potentiæ*, The Kingdome of power; and this wee attribute to the *Father*; it is power and providence: There is *Regnum gloriae*, the Kingdome of glorie; this we attribute to the *Sonn* and to his purchase; for he is the *King* that shall say, *Come ye blessed of my Father, inherit the Kingdome prepared for you, from the foundation of the World*. And then betweene these there is *Regnum gratiæ*, The kingdome of Grace,

¹²⁰ and this we attribute to the *Holy Ghost*; he takes them, whom the king of power, Almighty God hath rescued from the *Gentiles*, and as the king of grace, *Hee gives them the knowledge of the misterie of the kingdome of GOD*, that is, of *future glory*, by sanctifying them with his grace, in his *Church*. The two first kingdomes are in this world, but yet neither of them, are of this world; because both they referre to the kingdome of glory. The kingdome of the *Father*, which is the providence of *God*, does but preserve us; The kingdome of the *Holy Ghost* which is the grace of *God*, does but prepare us to the kingdome of the *Sonne*, which is the glory of GOD; and that's in

¹³⁰ heaven. And therefore, though to good men, this world be the way to that kingdome, yet this kingdome is not of this world, sayes Christ himselfe: Though the *Apostles* themselves, as good a *Schoole* as they were bred in, could never take out that lesson, yet that lesson *Christ* gives, and repeates to all, you seeke a Temporall kingdome, *But*, sayes the Text, stop there, A kingdome you must not have.

Mat. 25.34

Mar. 4.11

Joh. 18.36

Beloved in him, whose kingdome, and Ghospell you seeke to advance, in this Plantation, our *Lord and Saviour Christ Jesus*, if you seeke to establish a temporall kingdome there, you are not rectified, if you seeke to bee *Kings* in either acceptation of the word; To be a ¹⁴⁰ King signifies *Libertie* and *independency*, and *Supremacie*, to bee under no man, and to be a King signifies *Abundance*, and *Omni-sufficiencie*, to neede no man. If those that governe there, would establish such a government, as should not depend upon this, or if those that goe thither, propose to themselves an exemption from Lawes, to live at their libertie, this is to be *Kings*, to devest *Allegeance*, to bee under no man: and if those that adventure thither, propose to themselves present benefit, and profit, a sodaine way to bee rich, and an abundance of all desirable commodities from thence, this is to bee sufficient of themselves, and to need no man: and to be under no ¹⁵⁰ man and to need no man, are the two acceptations of being *Kings*. Whom liberty drawes to goe, or present profit drawes to adventure, are not yet in the right way. O, if you could once bring a *Catechisme* to bee as good ware amongst them as a bugle, as a knife, as a hatchet: O, if you would be as ready to hearken at the returne of a *Ship*, how many *Indians* were converted to *Christ Jesus*, as what Trees, or druggs, or Dyes that Ship had brought, then you were in your right way, and not till then; *Libertie* and *Abundance*, are Characters of kingdomes, and a kingdome is excluded in the *Text*; The *Apostles* were not to looke for it, in their employment, nor you in this your ¹⁶⁰ Plantation.

At least CHRIST expresses himselfe thus farre, in this answer, that if he would give them a kingdome, hee would not give it them yet. They aske him, *Wilt thou at this time, restore the kingdome?* and hee answers, *It is not for you to know the times:* whatsoever God will doe, Man must not appoint him his time. The *Apostles* thought of a *kingdome* presently after *Christs* departure; the comming of the *Holy Ghost*, who ledd them into all truthe, soone deliver'd them of that error. Other men in favour of the *Iewes*, interpreting all the prophesies, which are of a *Spirituall kingdome*, the kingdome of the ¹⁷⁰ *Gospell*, (into which, the *Iewes* shall be admitted) in a literall sense, have thought that the *Iewes* shall have, not onely a temporall kingdome in the same place, in *Ierusalem* againe, but because they find

Non adhuc

that kingdome which is promised, (that is the kingdome of the *Gos-pell*) to bee expressed in large phrases, and in an abundant manner, applying all that largenesse to a temporall kingdome, they thinke, that the *Iewes* shall have such a kingdome, as shall swallowe and annihilate all other kingdomes, and bee the sole *Empire and Mon-archy* of the world. After this, very great men in the *Church* upon

Apo. 20.[6]

De Civitat.

Dei 20.7

¹⁸⁰ imagin'd a *Temporall Kingdome* of the *Saints of God* heere upon Earth, before they entred the joyes of Heaven: and Saint *Augustine* himselfe, had at first some declinations towards that opinion, though he dispute powerfully against it, after: That there should bee *Sab-batismus in terris*; that as the world was to last Sixe thousand yeares in troubles, there should be a Seventh thousand, in such joyes as this world could give.

And some others, who have avoided both the *Temporall kingdome* imagin'd by the *Apostles*, presently after the *Ascencion*, And the *Emperiall kingdome* of the *Iewes*, before the *Resurrection*, And the ¹⁹⁰ *Carnall kingdome* of the *Chiliasts*, the *Millenarians*, after the *Resur-rection*, though they speake of no kingdome, but the true kingdome, the kingdome of glory, yet they erre as much in assigning a certaine time when that kingdome shall beginne, when the ende of this world, when the *Resurrection*, when the *Judgement* shall be. *Non est ves-trum nosse tempora*, sayes *Christ* to his *Apostles* then; and lest it might be thought, that they might know these things, when the *Holy Ghost* came upon them, *Christ* denies that he himselfe knew that, as *Man*; and as *Man*, *Christ* knew more, then ever the *Apostles* knew. Whatsoever therefore *Christ* intended to his *Apostles* heere, hee ²⁰⁰ would not give it presently, *non adhuc*, hee would not binde himselfe to a certaine time, *Non est vestrum nosse tempora*, It belongs not to us to know *Gods* times.

[Mar. 13.32]

Beloved, use godly meanes, and give *God* his leisure. You cannot beget a Sonne, and tell the Mother, I will have this Sonne born within five Moneths; nor, when he is borne, say, you will have him past daunger of *Wardship* within five yeares. You cannot sow your Corne to day, and say it shall bee above ground to morrow, and in my Barne next weeke. Howe soone the best Husbandman, sow'd the

best Seede, in the best ground? GOD cast the promise of a *Messias*,
²¹⁰ as the seede of all, in Paradise; *In Semine Mulieris; The Seed of the Woman shall bruise the Serpents head*; and yet this *Plant* was Foure thousand yeares after before it appeared; this *Messias* Foure thousand yeares before he came. GOD shew'd the ground where that should growe, Two thousand yeares after the Promise; in *Abrahams Family*; *In semine tuo, In thy Seed all Nations shall be blessed. God* hedg'd in this Ground almost One thousand yeares after that; In *Micheas* time, *Et tu Bethlem, Thou Bethlem shalt bee the place*; and *God* watered that, and weeded that, refreshed that dry expectation, with a Succession of *Prophets*; and yet it was so long before this

[Gen. 3.15]

²²⁰ *expectation of Nations*, this *Messias* came. So GOD promised the *Iewes* a Kingdome, in *Jacobs* Prophecie to *Iuda*, *That the Scepter should not depart from his Tribe*. In Two hundred yeares more, he saies no more of it; then he ordaines some institutions for their *King*, when they should have one. And then it was Foure hundred yeares after that, before they had a *King*. GOD meant from the first howre, to people the whole earth; and *God* could have made men of clay, as fast as they made Brickes of Clay in *Egypt*; but he began upon two, and when they had beene multiplying and replenishing the Earth One thousand sixe hundred yeares, the *Flood* washed all that away, and

Gen.

49.[10]

Deu. 17.14

²³⁰ GOD was almost to begin againe upon eight persons; and they have serv'd to people *Earth* and *Heaven* too; Bee not you discouraged, if the Promises which you have made to your selves, or to others, be not so soone discharg'd; though you see not your money, though you see not your men, though a *Flood*, a *Flood of bloud* have broken in upon them, be not discouraged. Great Creatures ly long in the wombe; *Lyons* are litterd perfit, but *Beare-whelpes* lick'd unto their shape; actions which Kings undertake, are cast in a mould; they have their perfection quickly; actions of private men, and private purses, require more hammering, and more filing to their perfection. Onely

²⁴⁰ let your principall ende, bee the propagation of the *glorious Gospell*, and though there bee an *Exclusive* in the *Text*, GOD does not promise you a *Kingdome, ease, and abundance* in all things, and that which he does intend to you, he does not promise presently, yet there is an *Inclusive* too; not that, *But*, but something equivalent at least,

But yee shall receive power, after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you, and yee shall be witnesses unto me, both in Ierusalem, and in all Iudæa, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost parts of the Earth.

2. Part.

Now our *Saviour Christ* does not say to these men, since you are so

²⁵⁰ importunate you shall have *no Kingdome; now nor never; tis, not*

Sed *yet; But, he does not say, you shall have no kingdome, nor any thing else; tis not that; But:* the importunitie of beggers, sometimes drawes us to such a foward answer, for this importunitie, I will never give you any thing. Our patterne was not so foward; hee gave them not

1 Sam. 16 that, but as good as that. *Samuel* was sent to superinduct a *King* upon *Saul*, to annoint a new King. Hee thought his *Commission* had bene determined in *Eliab, Surely this is the Lords Anointed*. But the

Lord said, not he; nor the next, *Aminadab*; nor the next, *Shammah*; nor none of the next seven; *But*; but yet there is one in the field, keep-

²⁶⁰ *ing sheepe, annoint him; David is he. Saint Paul* prayed earnestly,

[2 Cor. 12.7] and frequently, to be discharged of that *Stimulus Carnis: God saies no; not that; but Gratia mea sufficit*, Thou shalt have grace to overcome the temptation, though the temptation remaine. *God* sayes to you, *No Kingdome, not ease, not abundance; nay nothing at all yet*; the Plantation shall not discharge the Charges, not defray it selfe yet; but yet already, now at first, it shall conduce to great uses; It shall redeeme many a wretch from the Jawes of death, from the hands of the Executioner, upon whom, perchaunce a small fault, or perchance a first fault, or perchance a fault heartily and sincerely repented, perchance

²⁷⁰ *no fault, but malice, had otherwise cast a present, and ignominious death. It shall sweep your streets, and wash your dores, from idle persons, and the children of idle persons, and employ them: and truely, if the whole Countrey were but such a Bridewell, to force idle persons to work, it had a good use. But it is already, not onely a*

Spleene, to draine the ill humors of the body, but a Liver, to breed good bloud; already the imployment breeds Marriners; already the place gives essayes, nay Fraytes of Marchantable commodities; already it is a marke for the Envy, and for the ambition of our Enemies; I speake but of our Doctrinall, not Nationall Enemies; as they are

²⁸⁰ *Papists, they are sory we have this Countrey; and surely, twenty Lec-*

tures in matter of Controversie, doe not so much vexe them, as one Ship that goes, and strengthens that Plantation. Neither can I recommend it to you, by any better *Rhetorique* then their malice. They would gladly have it, and therefore let us bee glad to hold it.

Thus then this *Text* proceedes, and gathers upon you. All that you would have by this Plantation, you shall not have; GOD bindes not himselfe to measures; All that you shall have, you have not yet; GOD bindes not himselfe to times, but something you shall have; nay, you have already, some great things; and of those that in the *Text* is, *The*

²⁹⁰ *Holy Ghost shall come upon you.* Wee find the *Holy Ghost* to have come upon men, foure times in this Booke. First, upon the *Apostles* at *Pentecost*. Then, when the whole Congregation was in prayer for the imprisonment of *Peter* and *Iohn*. Againe, when *Peter* preached in *Cornelius* his house, the *Holy Ghost fell upon all them that heard him*. And fourthly, when Saint *Paul* laid his hands upon them, who had beene formerly baptiz'd at *Ephesus*. At the three latter times, it is evident that the *Holy Ghost* fell upon whole and promiscuous Congregations, and not upon the *Apostles* only: and in the first, at *Pentecost*, the contrary is not evident; nay, the Fathers, for the most part,

³⁰⁰ that handle that, concurre in that, that the *Holy Ghost* fell then upon the whole Congregation, men and women. The *Holy Ghost* fell upon *Peter* before hee preach'd, and it fell upon the hearers when he preach'd, and it hath fallen upon every one of them, who have found motions in themselves, to propagate the *Gospell of Christ Iesus* by this meanes. The *Sonne of GOD* did not abhorre the *Virgins* wombe, when hee would be made man; when he was man, he did not disdaine to ride upon an *Asse* into *Ierusalem*: the third person of the *Trinity*, the *Holy Ghost* is as humble as the second, hee refuses *Nullum vehiculum*, no conveyance, no doore of entrance into you;

³¹⁰ whether the example and precedent of other good men, or a probable imagination of future profit, or a willingnes to concurre to the vexation of the Enemie, what collaterall respect soever drew thee in, if now thou art in, thy principall respect be the glory of God, that occasion, whatsoever it was, was *vehiculum Spiritus Sancti*, that was the Petard, that broke open thy Iron gate, that was the Chariot, by which he entred into thee, and now hee is fallen upon thee, if thou do not *Depose*, (lay aside all consideration of profit for ever, never to looke

*Spiritus
Sanctus*

Acts 2.1
4.31
10.44
19.6

[B.C.P.
Te Deum]

for returne) No not *Sepose*, (leave out the consideration of profit for a time) (for that, and Religion may well consist together,) but if ³²⁰ thou doe but *Post-pose* the consideration of temporall gaine, and study first the advancement of the *Gospell* of *Christ Jesus*, the *Holy Ghost* is fallen upon you, for by that, *you receive power*, sayes the *Text*.

Potestatem

There is a *Power* rooted in *Nature*, and a *Power* rooted in *Grace*; a power yssuing from the Law of *Nations*, and a power growing out of the *Gospell*. In the Law of *Nature* and *Nations*, A Land never inhabited, by any, or utterly derelicted and immemorially abandoned by the former Inhabitants, becomes theirs that wil posesse it. So also is it, if the inhabitants doe not in some measure fill the Land, so as the Land may bring foorth her increase for the use of men: for as a ³³⁰ man does not become proprietary of the Sea, because he hath two or three Boats, fishing in it, so neither does a man become Lord of a maine Continent, because hee hath two or three Cottages in the Skirts thereof. That rule which passes through all *Municipal Lawes* in particular States, *Interest reipublicæ ut quis re sua bene utatur, The State must take order, that every man improove that which he hath, for the best advantage of that State*, passes also through the Law of *Nations*, which is to all the world, as the *Municipall Law* is to a particular State, *Interest mundo, The whole world, all Mankinde must take care, that all places be emprov'd, as farre as may be, to the best advantage of Mankinde in generall*. Againe if the Land be peopled, and cultivated by the people, and that Land produce in abundance such things, for want whereof their neghbours, or others (being not enemies) perish, the Law of *Nations* may justifie some force, in seeking, by permutation of other commodities which they neede, to come to some of theirs. Many cases may be put, when not onely *Commerce*, and *Trade*, but *Plantations* in lands, not formerly our owne, may be lawfull. And for that, *Accepistis potestatem, you have your Commission, your Patents, your Charters, your Seales from him*, upon whose acts, any private Subject, in Civill matters, may ³⁴⁰ safely rely. But then, *Accipietis potestatem, You shall receive power*, sayes the *text*; you shall, when the *Holy Ghost* is come upon you; that is, when the instinct, the influence, the motions of the *Holy Ghost* enables your Conscience to say, that your principall ende is not gaine, nor glory, but to gaine Soules to the glory of GOD, this Seales

the great Scale, this justifies Justice it selfe, this authorises Authoritie, and gives power to strength it selfe. Let the Conscience bee upright, and then *Seales*, and *Patents*, and *Commissions* are wings; they assist him to flye the faster; let the Conscience be lame, and distorted, and he that goes upon *Seales*, and *Patents*, and *Commissions*, goes upon
 360 weake and feeble crouches. When the *Holy Ghost* is come upon you, your Conscience rectified, you shall have *Power*, a new power out of that; what to doe? that followes, to bee *witnesses unto Christ*.

Infamy is one of the highest punishments that the Law inflicts upon man; for it lyes upon him even after death: *Infamy* is the worst punishment, and *Intestabilitie*, (to be made *intestable*) is one of the deepest wounds of *infamy*; and then the worst degree of *intestabilitie*, is not to bee beleaved, not to bee admitted to be a witnesse of any other: he is *Intestable* that cannot make a *Testament*, not give his owne goods; and hee *Intestable* that can receive nothing by the *Testa-*
 370 *ment* of another; hee is *Intestable*, in whose behalfe no testimony may be accepted; but he is the most miserably *Intestable* of all, the most detestably *intestable*, that discredits another man by speaking well of him, and makes him the more suspitious, by his commendations. A *Christian* in profession, that is not a *Christian* in life, is so *intestable*, hee discredits *Christ*, and hardens others against him. *John Baptist* was more then a *Prophet*, because he was a *Witnesse* of *Christ*; and he was a *Witnesse*, because hee was like him, he did as hee did, he lead a holy and a religious life; so he was a *Witnesse*. That great and glorious name of *Martyr*, is but a *Witnesse*. Saint *Stephen*
 380 was *Proto-martyr*, *Christs* first *Witnesse*, because hee was the first that did as he did, that put on his colours, that drunke of his *Cup*, that was baptised with his *Baptisme*, with his owne bloud: so hee was a *Witnesse*. To be *Witnesses* for *Christ*, is to be like *Christ*; to conforme your selves to *Christ*; and they in the Text, and you, are to be *witnesses of Christ in Jerusalem, and in all Judæa, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost parts of the Earth*.

Saint *Hierome* notes that *John Baptist* was not bid to beare witnesse in *Jerusalem*, in the *Citie*, but in the *Wildernes*; he, and none but he: there were but few men to witnes to there; and those few
 390 that were, came thither with a good disposition to be wrought upon there; and there there were fewe witnesses to oppose *Iohns* Testi-

Testes

Jerusalem

[Luk.
14.18-20]

mony, few temptations, few worldly allurements, few worldly businesses. One was enough for the *Wildernes*; but for *Ierusalem*, for the *Citie*, where all the excuses in the *Gospell* doe alwaies meete, they have bought commodities, and they must utter them, they have purchased Lands, and they must state them, they have maried Wives, and they must study them, to the *Citie*, to *Ierusalem*, Christ sends all his *Apostles*, and all little inough. Hee hath sent a great many *Apostles*, *Preachers*, to this *Citie*; more then to any other, that I know.

⁴⁰⁰ *Religious persons* as they call them, *Cloistered Friars* are not sent to the *Citie*; by their first *Canons*, they should not preach abroad: but for those who are to doe that service, there are more in this *Citie*, then in others, for there are more *Parish Churches* heere then in others. Now, beloved, if in this *Citie*, you have taken away a great part of the revenue of the *Preacher*, to your selves, take thus much of his labour upon your selves to, as to preach to one another by a holy and exemplar life, and a religious conversation. Let those of the *Citie*, who have interest in the Government of this *Plantation*, be *Witnesses of Christ* who is *Truth it selfe*, to all other *Governours of Companies*, ⁴¹⁰ in all true and just proceedings: that as CHRIST said to them who thought themselves greatest, *Except you become as this little Childe*, so we may say to the *Governours* of the greatest Companies, *Except you proceed with the integrity, with the justice, with the clearnesse, of your little Sister*, this *Plantation*, you doe not take, you doe not follow a good example. This is to beare witnesse of *Christ* in *Ierusalem*, in the *Citie*, to bee examples of *Truth*, and *Justice*, and *Clearenesse*, to others, in, and of this *Citie*.

[Mat. 18.3]

Judæa

The *Apostles* were to do this in *Judæa* too, their service lay in the *Country* as well as in the *Citie*. Birds that are kept in cages may ⁴²⁰ learne some Notes, which they should never have sung in the Woods or Fields; but yet they may forget their naturall Notes too. *Preachers* that binde themselves alwaies to *Cities* and *Courts*, and *great Auditories*, may learne new Notes; they may become *occasionall Preachers*, and make the emergent affaires of the time, their *Text*, and the humors of the hearers their *Bible*; but they may loose their Naturall Notes, both the *simplicitie*, and the *boldnesse* that belongs to the Preaching of the *Gospell*: both their power upon lowe understandings to raise them, and upon high affections to humble them. They

may thinke that their errand is but to knocke at the doore, to delight
 430 the eare, and not to search the House, to ransacke the conscience. *Christ* left the *Ninetie and nine* for one Sheepe; populous *Cities* are for the most part best provided; remoter parts need our labour more, and we should not make such differences. *Yeoman*, and *Labourer*, and *Spinster*, are distinctions upon Earth; in the Earth, in the grave there is no distinction. The *Angell* that shall call us out of that dust, will not stand to survay, who lyes naked, who in a Coffin, who in Wood, who in Lead, who in a fine, who in a courser Sheet; In that one day of the Resurrection, there is not a forenoone for Lords to rise first, and an afternoone for meaner persons to rise after. *Christ* was
 440 not whip'd to save Beggars, and crown'd with Thornes to save Kings: he dyed, he suffered all, for all; and we whose bearing witnesse of him, is to doe, as hee did, must conferre our labours upon all, upon *Ierusalem*, and upon *Iudea* too, upon the *Citie*, and upon the *Country* too. You, who are his witnesses too, must doe so too; preach in your just actions, as to the *Citie*, to the *Country* too. Not to seale up the secrets, and the misteries of your businesse within the bosome of *Merchants*, and exclude all others: to nourish an incompatibility betweene *Merchants* and *Gentlemen*; that *Merchants* shall say to them in reproach, you have plaid the *Gentlemen*, and they in equall re-
 450 proach, you have playd the *Merchant*; but as *Merchants* growe up into worshipfull Families, and worshipfull Families let fall branches amongst *Merchants* againe, so for this particular Plantation, you may consider *Citie* and *Country* to bee one body, and as you give example of a just government to other companies in the *Citie*, (thats your bearing witnesse in *Ierusalem*,) so you may be content to give reasons of your proceedings, and account of moneyes levied, over the *Country*, for thats your bearing witnesse in *Iudea*.

But the *Apostles Dioces* is enlarged, farther then *Ierusalem*, farther then *Iudea*, they are carried into *Samaria*; *you must beare witnesse*
 460 *of me in Samaria*. Beloved, when I have remembred you, who the *Samaritans* were, Men that had not renounced GOD, but mingled other *Gods* with him, Men that had not burnt the Law of GOD, but made Traditions of Men equall to it, you will easily guesse to whom I apply the name of *Samaritans* now. A *Iesuit* hath told us (an ill Intelligencer I confesse, but even his Intelligencer, the *Devill* him-

[Mat. 18.12]

Samaria

selfe, sayes true sometimes) *Maldonate* sayes, the *Samaritans* were odious to the *Iewes*, upon the same grounds as *Heretiques* and *Scismatiques* to us; and they, we know were odious to them for mingling false *Gods*, and false worships with the true. And if that be the

⁴⁷⁰ Caracter of a *Samaritan*, wee knowe who are the *Samaritans*, who the *Heretiques*, who the *Scismatiques* of our times. In the highest reproach to *Christ*, the Jewes said, *Samaritanus es & Dæmonium habes*,

[John 8.48]

Thou art a Samaritan & hast a Devill. In our just detestation of these *Men*, we justly fasten both those upon them. For as they delight in lyes, and fill the world with weeklye rumors, *Dæmonium habent*,

John 8.44

they have a *Devill, quia mendax est & pater eius*. As they multiply assassinats upon Princes, and Massacres upon people, *Dæmonium habent*, they have a *Devill, quia homicida ab initio*: as they tosse, and tumble, and dispose kingdomes, *Dæmonium habent*, they have a

Mat. 4.9

⁴⁸⁰ *Devill, Omnia hæc dabo* was the Devils complement: but as they mingle truthe and falsehoods together in Religion, as they carry the word of GOD, and the Traditions of Men, in an even balance, *Samaritani sunt*, they are *Samaritanes*. At first *Christ* forbad his *Apostles*,

10.5

Acts 8.25

to goe into any Citie of the *Samaritans*: after, they did preach in many of them. Beare witnesse first in *Ierusalem*, and in *Iudæa*; give good satisfaction especially to those of the houshold of the faithfull, in the *Citie* and *Country*, but yet satisfie even those *Samaritans* too.

They would be satisfied, what Miracles you work in *Virginia*; and ⁴⁹⁰ what people you have converted to the *Christian Faith*, there. If we could as easily cal naturall effects Miracles, or casuall accidents miracles, or Magical illusions, miracles, as they do, to make a miraculous

drawing of a tooth, a miraculous cutting of a corn, or, as *Iustus Baronius* saies, when he was converted to them, that he was miraculously cur'd of the *Cholique*, by stooping to kisse the *Popes* foot, If we would pile up Miracles so fast, as *Pope Iohn 22.* did in the Canonization of *Aquinas*, *Tot Miracula confecit, quot determinavit quæsitiones*, he wrought as many miracles, as he resolv'd questions, we might find Miracles too. In truth, their greatest Miracle to me, is, that

⁵⁰⁰ they find men to beleeve their miracles. If they rely upon miracles, they imply a confession that they induce new doctrines; that that is old and receiv'd, needs no miracles; If they require miracles, because,

though that be ancient Doctrine, it is newly brought into those parts, we have the confession of their *Iesuit, Acosta*, that they doe no miracle in those *Indies*, and he assignes very good reasons, why they are not necessary, nor to bee expected there. But yet beare witnesse to these *Samaritans*, in the other point; labour to give them satisfaction in the other point of their chardge, What Heathens you have converted to the Faith, which is that which is intended in the next, which is the

⁵¹⁰ last branch, *You are to be witnesses unto me both in Jerusalem, & in all Judæa, & in Samaria, and unto the uttermost parts of the Earth.*

Litterally, the *Apostles* were to bee such witnesses for *Christ*: were they so? did the *Apostles* in person, preach the *Gospell*, over all the World? I know that it is not hard to multiply places of the *Fathers*, in confirmation of that opinion, that the *Apostles* did actually, and personally preach the *Gospell* in all Nations, in their life. *Christ* saies,

*Fines
terræ*

Mat. 24.14

Mark 13.9

⁵²⁰ *brought before Rulers and Kings for my sake*; but the *Gospell* must first be published among all Nations: In one *Evangelist* there is the *Commission*; *Preach in my name to all Nations*. And in another, the *Execution* of this *Commission*, *And they went and preach'd every where*. And after the *Apostle* certifies, and returnes the execution of this *Commission*, *The Gospell is come and bringeth forth fruit to all the world*: and upon those, and such places, have some of the *Fathers* beene please, to ground their literall exposition, of an actuall and personall preaching of the *Apostles* over all the world. But had they dream'd of this world which hath been discover'd since, into which,

Luke 24.47
Mar. 16.20

Col. 1.5

⁵³⁰ wee dispute with perplexitie, and intricacy enough, how any men came at first, or how any beastes, especially such beastes as men were not likely to carry, they would never have doubted to have admitted a *Figure*, in that, *The Gospell was preached to all the world*; for when *Augustus* his Decree went out, *That all the world should bee taxed*, the Decree and the Taxe went not certainly into the *West Indies*; when *Saint Paul* sayes, *That their Faith was spoken of throughout the whole world*, and that *their obedience was come abroad unto all men*, surely the *West Indies* had not heard of the faith and the obedience of the *Romanes*. But as in *Moses* time, they

Luc. 2.1
Rom. 1.8
16.19

Mat. ult. ult.

⁵⁴⁰ call'd the *Mediterranean Sea*, the *great Sea*, because it was the greatest that those men had then seene, so in the *Apostles* time, they call'd that all the world, which was knowne and traded in then; and in all that, they preach'd the *Gospell*. So that as *Christ* when he said to the *Apostles*; *I am with you, unto the end of the World*, could not intend that of them in person, because they did not last to the ende of the world, but in a succession of Apostolike men, so when he sayes, the *Apostles* should preach him to all the world, it is of the *Succession* too.

[1 Cor.
15.53]

Rom. 8.[21]

Those of our profession that goe, you, that send them who goe, doe ⁵⁵⁰ all an *Apostolical* function. What action soever, hath in the first intention thereof, a purpose to propagate the *Gospell* of *Christ Jesus*, that is an *Apostolical* action; Before the ende of the world come, before this mortality shall put on immortalitie, before the Creature shall be delivered of the bondage of corruption under which it groanes, before the Martyrs under the Altar shalbe silenc'd, before al things shal be subdued to *Christ*, his kingdome perfited, and the last Enemy Death destroied, the *Gospell* must be preached to those men to whom ye send; to all men. Further and hasten you this blessed, this joyfull, this glorious consummation of all, and happie ⁵⁶⁰ reunion of all bodies to their Soules, by preaching the *Gospell* to those men. Preach to them Doctrinally, preach to them Practically; Enamore them with your *Justice*, and, (as farre as may consist with your security) your *Civilitie*; but inflame them with your *godlinesse*, and your *Religion*. Bring them to *love* and *Reverence* the name of that *King*, that sends men to teach them the wayes of *Civilitie* in this world, but to *feare* and *adore* the Name of that *King of Kings*, that sends men to teach them the waies of Religion, for the next world. Those amongst you, that are old now, shall passe out of this world with this great comfort, that you contributed to the beginning of that ⁵⁷⁰ Common Wealth, and of that Church, though they live not to see the groath thereof to perfection: *Apollos* wated, but *Paul* planted; hee that begun the worke, was the greater man. And you that are young now, may live to see the Enemy as much impeach'd by that place, and your friends, yea Children, aswell accommodated in that place, as any other. You shall have made this *Iland*, which is but as the *Suburbs* of the old world, a Bridge, a Gallery to the new; to joyne

1 Cor. 3.6

all to that world that shall never grow old, the Kingdome of heaven,
 You shall add persons to this Kingdome, and to the Kingdome of
 heaven, and adde names to the Bookes of our Chronicles, and to the
 580 Booke of Life.

To end all, as the *Orators* which declaimd in the presence of the *Roman Emperors*, in their *Panegyriques*, tooke that way to make those *Emperours* see, what they were bound to doe, to say in those publique Orations, that those *Emperors* had done so, (for that increased the love of the Subject to the Prince, to bee so tolde, that hee had done those great things, and then it convayd a Counsell into the Prince to doe them after) As their way was to procure things to bee done, by saying they were done, so beloved I have taken a contrary way: for when I, by way of exhortation, all this while have
 590 seem'd to tell you what should be done by you, I have, indeed, but told the Congregation, what hath beene done already: neither do I speake to move a wheele that stood still, but to keepe the wheele in due motion; nor perswade you to begin, but to continue a good worke, nor propose forreigne, but your own Examples, to do still, as you have done hitherto. For, for that, that which is especially in my contemplation, the conversion of the people, as I have receiv'd, so I can give this Testimony, that of those persons, who have sent in moneys, and conceal'd their names, the greatest part, almost all, have limited their devotion, and contribution upon that point, the
 600 propagation of Religion, and the conversion of the people; for the building and beautifying of the house of GOD, and for the instruction and education of their young Children. *Christ Iesus himselfe is yesterday, and to day, and the same for ever.* In the advancing of his glory, be you so to, yesterday, and to day, and the same for ever, here; and hereafter, when time shall be no more, no more yesterday, no more to day, yet for ever and ever, you shall enjoy that joy, and that glorie, which no ill accident can attaine to diminish, or Eclipse it.

[Heb. 13.8]

Prayer.

We returne to thee againe, O GOD, with *praise* and *prayer*; as for all
 610 thy mercies from before minutes began, to this minute, from our Election to this present beame of Sanctification which thou hast shed upon us now. And more particularly, that thou hast afforded us that

great dignity, to be, this way, witnesses of thy Sonne *Christ Jesus*, and instruments of his glory. Looke gratiouly, and looke powerfully upon this body, which thou hast bene now some yeares in building and compacting together, this Plantation. Looke gratiouly upon the Head of this Body, our *Soveraigne* and blesse him with a good disposition to this work, and blesse him for that disposition: Looke gratiouly upon them, who are as the *braine* of this body, those who
 620 by his power, counsell and advise, and assist in the Government thereof: blesse them with [a] disposition to unity and concord, and blesse them for that disposition: Looke gratiouly upon them who are as *Eyes* of this Body, those of the *Clergy*, who have any interest therein: blesse them with a disposition to preach there, to pray heere, to exhort every where for the advancement thereof, and bless them for that disposition. Blesse them who are the *Feete* of this body, who goe thither, and the *Hands* of this body, who labour there, and them who are the *Heart* of this bodie, all that are heartily affected, and declare actually that heartinesse to this action, blesse them all with
 630 a cheerefull disposition to that, and bless them for that disposition. Bless it so in this calme, that when the tempest comes, it may ride it out safely; blesse it so with friends now, that it may stand against Enemies hereafter; prepare thy selfe a glorious harvest there, and give us leave to be thy Labourers, That so the number of thy *Saints* being fulfilled, wee may with better assurance joyne in that prayer, *Come Lord Jesus come quickly*, and so meet all in that kingdome which the Sonne of GOD hath purchased for us with the inestimable price of his incorruptible bloud. To which glorious Sonne of GOD,
 &c. *Amen.*

[Rev. 22.20]

FINIS.

Number 11.

*Preached at St. Pauls, upon
Christmas day. 1622.*

COLOSS. 1.19, 20. *FOR, IT PLEASED THE FATHER,
THAT IN HIM SHOULD ALL FULNESSE
DWELL; AND, HAVING MADE PEACE
THROUGH THE BLOUD OF HIS CROSSE, BY
HIM, TO RECONCILE ALL THINGS TO HIM-
SELF, BY HIM, WHETHER THEY BE THINGS
IN EARTH, OR THINGS IN HEAVEN.*

THE WHOLE journey of a Christian is in these words; and therefore we were better set out early, then ride too fast; better enter presently into the parts, then be forced to passe thorow them too hastily. First then wee consider the Collation and Reference of the Text, and then the Illation, and Inference thereof. For, the Text looks back to all that was said from the twelfth verse. For, the first word of the text, [For] which is a particle of connexion, as well as of argumentation, is a seale of all that was said from that place. And then, the Text looks forward to the 23 *verse* where all these ¹⁰ blessings are sealed to us, with that Condition, *If ye continue settled in the Gospell.* This is the Collation, the Reference of the text; for the Illation, and Inference, the first clause thereof, [For, it pleased the Father, that in him should all fulnesse dwell] presents a double Instruction; First, that we are not bound to accept matters of Religion, merely without all reason, and probable inducements; And secondly, with what modesty we are to proceed, and in what bounds

[Col. 1.23]

we are to limit that inquisition, that search of Reason in matters of that nature. When the Apostle presents to us here, the great mystery of our reconciliation to God, he, in whose power it was not to infuse

V. 13 ²⁰ faith into every reader of his Epistle, proceeds by reason. He tells us, *That the Father hath translated us into the Kingdome of his deare Son, the Son of his love.* That were well, if we were sure of it; If our consciences did not accuse us, and suggest to us our owne unworthiness, and thereby an impossibility of being so translated. Why no, says the Apostle, there is no such impossibility now, For, *Now we have Redemption, and forgivenesse of sinnes.* Who should procure us that? *If a man sin against God, who shall plead for him?* What man is able to mediate, and stand in the gap between God and man? You say true, says the Apostle, no man is able to doe it; and therefore

V. 14 ³⁰ *He that is the Image of the invisible God, he by whom all things were created, and by whom all things consist, he hath done it.* Hath God reconciled me to God; And reconciled me by way of satisfaction? (for, that I know his justice requires) What could God pay for me? What could God suffer? God himselfe could not; and therefore God hath taken a body that could. *And as he is the Head of that body, he is possible, so he may suffer;* And, as he is the first born of the dead, he did suffer; so that he was defective in nothing; not in Power, as God, not in passibility, as man; for, *Complacuit; It pleased the Father, that in him, All fulnesse* (a full capacity to all purposes)

V. 18 ⁴⁰ *should dwell.* Thus farre we are to trace the reason of our redemption, intimated in that first word, *For.* And then, we are to limit and determine our reason in the next, *Quia complacuit*, because it was his will, his pleasure to proceed so, and no otherwise. Christ himselfe goes no farther then so, in a case of much strangenesse, *That God had hid his mysteries from the wise, and revealed them unto babes;* This was a strange course, but *Ita est, quia,* Even so, Father, for so it seemed good in thy sight. I would faine be able to prove to my selfe that my redemption is accomplished; and therefore I search the Scriptures; and I grow sure that Christ hath redeemed the world;

Mat. 11.25 ⁵⁰ and I search the Scriptures again, to finde what marks are upon them, that are of the participation of that Redemption, and I grow to a religious, and modest assurance, that those marks are upon me. I finde reasons to prove to me, that God does love my soule; but why God

should love men better then his own Son, or why God should love me better then other men, I must end in the reason of the text, *Quia complacuit*, and in the reason of Christ himself, *Ita est, quia*, It is so, O Father, because thy good pleasure was it should be so.

To passe then from the Collation and Reference, by which, the text hath his Cohærence with the precedent, and subsequent passages, ⁶⁰ and the Illation and Inference, by which you have seene the generall doctrine, That reason is not to be excluded in religion, but yet to be tenderly and modestly pressed, we have here the Person that redeemed us, and his Qualification for that great office, (*That all fulnesse should dwell in him.*) And then we have the Pacification, and the Meanes thereof, (*Peace was made through the bloud of his Crosse*) And then, the Effect, the application of all this, to them, for whom it was wrought, (*That all things in earth and heaven, might be reconciled to God by him.*) In the qualification of the person, we finde *plenitudinem*, fulnesse, and *omnem plenitudinem*, all fulnesse; ⁷⁰ and *omnem plenitudinem inhabitantem*, all fulnesse dwelling, permanent. And yet, even this dwelling fulnesse, even in this person Christ Jesus, by no title of merit in himselfe, but onely *quia complacuit*, because it pleased the Father it should be so. In the pacification, (which is our second part) (*Peace was made, by the bloud of his Crosse*) we shall see first, *quod bellum*, what the warre was, and then *quæ pax*, what the peace is, and lastly *quis modus*, how this peace was made, which was strange; *per sanguinem*, by bloud; to save bloud, and yet by bloud. And *per sanguinem ejus*, by his bloud, his, who was victoriously to triumph in this peace; and *per sanguinem Crucis ejus*, ⁸⁰ by the bloud of his Crosse, that is, his death; the bloud of his Circumcision, the bloud of his Agony, the bloud of his scourging was not enough; It must be, and so it was the bloud of his Crosse; And these peeces constitute our second part, the Pacification: And then in the third, the Application, (*That all things might be reconciled to God,*) we shall see first, what this Reconciliation is, and then how it extends to all things on earth, (which we might thinke were not capable of it;) and all things in heaven, (which we might think stood in no need of it.) And in these three parts, The person and his qualification, The thing it selfe, The Pacification, The effect of this, The Reconciliation, ⁹⁰ the Application, wee shall determine all.

Divisio

[Col. 1.14]

1 Part
Plenitudo

Gen. 6.5

Psal. 50.18

Psal. 12.4

[Exod. 20.5]
Numb. 5.14

First, In the person that redeemes us we finde fulnesse. And there had need be so; for, he found our measure full of sin towards God, and Gods measure full of anger towards us; for our parts, as when a River swels, at first it will finde out all the channels, or lower parts of the bank, and enter there, but after a whi.e it covers, and overflowes the whole field, and all is water without distinction; so, though we be naturally channels of concupiscencies, (for there sin begins, and as water runs naturally in the veines and bowels of the earth, so run concupiscencies naturally in our bowels) yet, *when every imagination*
¹⁰⁰ *of the thoughts of our heart, is onely evill continually;* Then, (as it did there) it induces a flood, a deluge, our concupiscence swells above all channels, and actually overflowes all; It hath found an issue at the eare, we delight in the defamation of others; and an issue at the eye, *If we see a thiefe, we run with him;* we concurre in the plots of supplanting and destroying other men; It hath found an issue in the tongue, *Our lips are our owne, who is Lord over us?* We speak freely; seditious speeches against superiours, obscene and scurile speeches against one another, prophane and blasphemous speeches against God himselfe, are growne to be good jests, and marks of wit,
¹¹⁰ and arguments of spirit. It findes an issue at our hands, they give way to oppression, by giving bribes; and an issue at our feet, They are swift to shed bloud; and so by custome, sin overflowes all, *Omnia pontus,* all our wayes are sea, all our works are sin. This is our fulnesse, originall sin filled us, actuall sin presses down the measure, and habituall sins heap it up. And then Gods measure of anger was full too; from the beginning he was a jealous God, and that should have made us carefull of our behaviour, that a jealous eye watched over us. But because wee see in the world, that jealous persons are oftnest deceived, because that distemper disorders them, so as that they see
¹²⁰ nothing clearly, and it puts the greater desire in the other, to deceive, because it is some kinde of Victory, and Triumph to deceive a jealous, and watchfull person, therefore we have hoped to goe beyond God too, and his jealousie. But he is jealous of his honour, jealous of his jealousie, he will not have his jealousie despised, nor forgotten, for therefore he visits upon the children, to the third and fourth generation; when therefore the spirit of jealousie was come upon him, and that he had prepared that water of bitternesse, which was to rot our

bowels, that is, when God had bent all his bowes, drawne forth, and whetted all his swords, when he was justly provoked, to execute all
¹³⁰ the Judgements denounced in all the Prophets, upon all mankinde, when mans measure was full of sin, and Gods measure full of wrath, then was *the fulnesse of time*, and yet then *Complacuit*, It pleased the Father, that there should be another fulnesse to overflow all these, in Christ Jesus.

But what fulnesse is that? *Omnis plenitudo, all fulnesse*. And this was onely in Christ. *Elias* had a great portion of the spirit: but, but a portion. *Elizaeus* sees that that portion will not serve him, and therefore he asks a double portion of that spirit; but still but portions. *Stephen* is full of faith; a blessed fulnesse, where there is no corner
¹⁴⁰ for Infidelity, nor for doubt, for scruple, nor irresolution. *Dorcas* is full of good works; a fulnesse above faith; for there must be faith, before there can be good works; so that they are above faith, as the tree is above the roote, and as the fruit is above the tree. The Virgin *Mary* is full of Grace; and Grace is a fulnesse above both; above faith and works too, for that is the meanes to preserve both; That we fall not from our faith, and that dead flyes corrupt not our ointment, that worldly mixtures doe not vitiate our best works, and the memory of past sins, dead sins, doe not beget new sins in us, is the operation of Grace. The seaven Deacons were full of the Holy Ghost,

¹⁵⁰ and of Wisedome; full of Religion towards God, and full of such wisedome as might advance it towards men; full of zeale, and full of knowledge; full of truth, and full of discretion too. And these were *plenitudines*, fulnesses, but they were not *all, Omnis plenitudo, all fulnesse*. I shall bee as full as St. *Paul*, in heaven; I shall have as full a vessell, but not so full a Cellar; I shall be as full, but I shall not have so much to fill. Christ onely hath an infinite content, and capacity, an infinite roome and receipt, and then an infinite fulnesse; *omnem capacitatem, and omnem plenitudinem*; He would receive as much as could be infused, and there was as much infused, as he could

¹⁶⁰ receive.

But what shall we say? *Deus adimplendus*; was Christ God before, and are these accessory, supplementary, additionall fulnesses to be put to him? A fulnesse to be added to God? To make him a competent person to redeeme man, something was to be added to Christ,

[Gal. 4.4]

*Omnis
plenitudo*

2 Reg. 2.9
Acts 6.5
Acts 9.36

[Luke 1.28]

Eccles. 10.1

Acts 6.3

[Col. 1.24]

though he were God; wherein we see to our inexpressible confusion of face, and consternation of spirit, the incomprehensibleness of mans sin, that even to God himselfe, there was required something else then God, before we could be redeemed; there was a fulnesse to be added to God, for this work, to make it *omnem plenitudinem*, for Christ was God before; there was that fulnesse; but God was not Christ before; there lacked that fulnesse. Not disputing therefore, what other wayes God might have taken for our redemption, but giving him all possible thanks for that way which his goodnesse hath chosen, by the way of satisfying his justice, (for, howsoever I would be glad to be discharged of my debts any way, yet certainly, I should think my selfe more behoden to that man, who would be content to pay my debt for me, then to him that should entreat my creditor to forgive me my debt) for this work, to make Christ able to pay this debt, there was something to be added to him. First, he must pay it in

¹⁷⁰ such money as was lent; in the nature and flesh of man; for man had sinned, and man must pay. And then it was lent in such money as was coyned even with the Image of God; man was made according to his Image: That Image being defaced, in a new Mint, in the wombe of the Blessed Virgin, there was new money coyned; The Image of the invisible God, the second person in the Trinity, was imprinted into the humane nature. And then, that there might bee *omnis plenitudo*, all fulnesse, as God, for the paiment of this debt, sent downe the Bullion, and the stamp, that is, God to be conceived in man, and as he provided the Mint, the womb of the Blessed

¹⁸⁰ Virgin, so hath he provided an Exchequer, where this mony is issued; that is his Church, where his merits should be applied to the discharge of particular consciences. So that here is one fulnesse, that in this person dwelleth all the fulnesse of the Godhead bodily. Here is another fulnesse, that this person fulfilled all righteousnesse, and satisfied the Justice of God by his suffering; *non est dolor sicut*, there was no sorrow like unto his sorrow; It was so full that it exceeded all others. And then there is a third fulnesse, the Church, (which is his body, the fulnesse of him, that filleth all in all) perfitt God, there is the fulnesse of his dignity; perfitt man, there is the fulnesse of his possibility; and a perfitt Church, there is the fulnesse of the distribution of his mercies, and merits to us. And this is *omnis*

[Col. 1.15]

Coloss. 2.9

Thren. 1.12

Eph. 1.23

plenitudo, all fulnesse; which yet is farther extended in the next word, *Inhabitavit*, *It pleased the Father, that all fulnesse should dwell in him.*

The Holy Ghost appeared in the Dove, but he did not dwell in it. The Holy Ghost hath dwelt in holy men, but not thus; So, as that ancient Bishop expresses it, *Habitavit in Salomone per sapientiam*, He dwelt in *Salomon*, in the spirit of wisedome; in *Ioseph*, in the spirit of chastity; in *Moses*, in the spirit of meeknesse; but in *Christo*,
²¹⁰ *in plenitidine*, in Christ, in all fulnesse. Now this fulnesse is not fully expressed in the Hypostaticall union of the two natures; God and Man in the person of Christ. For, (concerning the divine Nature) here was not a dram of glory in this union. This was a strange fulnesse, for it was a fulnesse of emptinesse; It was all Humiliation, all exinanition, all evacuation of himselfe, by his obedience to the death of the Crosse. But when it was done, *Ne evacuaretur Crux Christi*, (as the Apostle speaks in another case) lest the Crosse of Christ should be evacuated, and made of none effect, he came to make this fulnesse perfitt, by instituting and establishing a Church; *The spirit*

²²⁰ *of the Lord shall rest upon him*, saies the Prophet, of Christ. There is a fulnesse in generall, for his qualification; *The Spirit of the Lord*; but what kinde of spirit? It followes, *the spirit of wisedome and understanding, the Spirit of Counsell, and Power, the Spirit of knowledge and of the feare of the Lord*; we see, the spirit that must rest upon Christ, is the Spirit in those beames, in those functions, in those operations, as conduce to government, that is, Wisedome, and Counsell, and Power. So that this is Christs fulnesse, that he is in a continuall administration of his Church; in which he flowes over upon us his Ministers; (for, *of his fulnesse have all we received, and*

²³⁰ *grace for grace*: that is, power by his grace, to derive grace upon the Congregation;) And so, of his fulnesse, all the Congregation receives too; and receives in that full measure, *That they are filled with all the fulnesse of God*; that is, all the fulnesse that was in both his natures, united in one person, when the fulnesse of the Deity dwelt in him bodily, all the merits of that person, are derived upon us, in his Word, Sacraments, in his Church; which Church being to continue to the end, it is most properly said *habitavit*, in him, (in him, as head of the Church) all fulnesse, all meanes of salvation, dwell, and are to be had permanently, constantly, infallibly.

Inhabitavit
Remigius

1 Cor. 1.17

Esay 11.2

Joh. 1.16

Eph. 3.19

Complacuit

²⁴⁰ Now how came Christ by all this fulnesse, this superlative fulnesse in himselfe, this derivative fulnesse upon us? That his merits should be able to build, and furnish such a house, to raise and rectifie such a Church, acceptable to God, in which all fulnesse should dwell to the worlds end? It was onely because *complacuit*, it pleased God (for this personall name of the Father (*It pleased the Father*) is but added suppletorily by our Translators, and is not in the Originall) It pleased God to give him wherewithall, to enable him so farre, for, this *complacuit*, is, (as we say in the Schoole,) *vox beneplaciti*, it expresses onely the good will and love of God, without contemplation or fore-

Catharin.

²⁵⁰ sight of any goodnesse in man; *nam hac posita plenitudine exorta sunt merita*: First, we are to consider this fulnesse to have been in Christ, and then, from this fulnesse arose his merits; we can consider no merit in Christ himselfe before, whereby he should merit this fulnesse; for, this fulnesse was in him, before he merited any thing;

August.

and but for this fulnesse, he had not so merited. *Ille homo, ut in unitatem filii Dei assumeretur, unde meruit?* How did that man, (sayes St. Augustine speaking of Christ, as of the son of man) how did that man merit to be united in one person, with the eternall Son of God? *Quid egit ante? Quid creditit?* What had he done? nay,

²⁶⁰ what had he beleaved? Had he eyther faith, or works, before that union of both natures? If then in Christ Jesus himselfe, there were no *prævisa merita*, That Gods fore-sight, that he would use this fulnesse well, did not work in God, as a cause to give him this fulnesse, but because hee had it of the free gift of God, therefore he did use it well, and meritoriously, shall any of us be so frivolous, in so important a matter, as to think that God gave us our measure of grace, or our measure of Sanctification, because he fore-saw that we would heap up that measure, and employ that talent profitably? What canst thou imagine, he could fore-see in thee? A propensesse, a disposition to

²⁷⁰ goodnesse, when his grace should come? Eyther there is no such propensesse, no such disposition in thee, or, if there be, even that propensesse and disposition to the good use of grace, is grace, it is an effect of former grace, and his grace wrought, before he saw any such propensesse, any such disposition; Grace was first, and his grace is his, it is none of thine. To end this point, and this part, *non est discipulus supra magistrum*; The fulness of Christ himselfe was

[Mat. 10.24]

rooted in the *complacuit*, It pleased the Father; (nothing else wrought in the nature of a Cause) and therefore that measure of that fulnesse, which is derived upon us, from him, (our vocation, our justification, ²⁸⁰ our sanctification) are much more so; we have them, *quia complacuit*, because it hath pleased him freely to give them; God himselfe could see nothing in us, till he of his owne goodnesse, put it into us. And so we have gone as farre, as our first part carries us, in those two branches, and the fruits which we have gathered from thence; First, those generall doctrines, that reason is not to be excluded in matters of religion; and then, that reason in all those cases, is to be limited, with the *quia complacuit*, meerly in the good pleasure of God. In which first part, you have also had, the qualification of the person, that came this day, to establish Redemption for us, that in Him ²⁹⁰ there was fulnesse, (infinite capacity, and infinite infusion,) and all fulnesse, defective in nothing, (impassible and yet possible, perfit God, and perfit man) and this fulnesse dwelling in Him, in Him as he is Head of the Church, that is, visible, sensible meanes of salvation to every soule in his Church; And so we passe to our second part, from this Qualification of the person, (*It pleased the Father that in him all fulnesse should dwell*) to the Pacification it selfe, for which it pleased the Father to doe all this, *that Peace might be made through the bloud of his Crosse*.

In this Part, St. Chrysostome hath made our steps, our branches. It ³⁰⁰ is much, sayes he, that God would admit any peace; *magis, per sanguinem*, more, that for peace he should require effusion of bloud; *magis, quod per ejus*, more, that it must be His bloud, his that was injured, his that was to triumph; *Et adhuc magis, quod per sanguinem Crucis ejus*; That it must be by the bloud of his Crosse, his heart bloud, his death; and yet this was the case; *He made Peace through the bloud of his Crosse*. There was then a warre before, and a heavy warre; for, the Lord of hosts was our enemy; and what can all our musters come to, if the Lord of Hosts, of all Hosts have raised his forces against us? There was a heavy war denounced in ³¹⁰ the *Inimicitias ponam*, when God raised a warre betweene the Devill, and us. For, if we could consider God to stand neutrall in that warre, and meddle with neither side, yet we were in a desperate case, to be put to fight against Powers and Principalities, against the Devill.

2 Part

Bellum ante

Gen. 3.15

How much more, when God, the Lord of Hosts, is the Lord even of that Host too? when God presses the Devill, and makes the Devill his Soldier, to fight his battles, and directs his arrowes, and his bullets, and makes his approaches, and his attempts effectuall upon us. That

Basil which is fallen upon the Jews now, for their sinne against Christ, that there is not in all the world, a Soldier of their race, not a Jew in

³²⁰ the world that beares armes, is true of all mankinde for their sin against God; there is not a Soldier amongst them, able to hurt his spirituall enemy or defend himselfe. It is a strange warre, where there are not two sides; and yet that is our case; for, God uses the Devill against us, and the Devill uses us against one another; nay, he uses every one of us, against our selves; so that God, and the Devill, and we, are all in one Army, and all for our destruction; we have a warre, and yet there is but one Army, and we onely are the Countrey that is fed upon, and wasted; From God to the Devill we have not one friend, and yet, as though we lacked enemies, we fight with one

Ad milites ³³⁰ another in inhumane Duels; *Vbi morimur homicidae*, (as St. Bernard expresses it powerfully and elegantly) that in those Duels and Com-

Templa: borts, he that is murdered dyes a murderer, because he would have beene one; *Occisor læthaliter peccat, occisus æternaliter perit*; He that comes alive out of the field comes a dead man, because he comes a deadly sinner, and he that remaines dead in the field, is gone into an everlasting death. So that by this inhumane effusion of one anothers bloud, we maintaine a warre against God himselfe, and we provoke him to that which he expresses in *Esay*, My sword shall be bathed in heaven; *Inebriabitur sanguine*, The sword of the Lord shall be made

Essay 345 ³⁴⁰ drunk with bloud; Their land shall be soaked with bloud, and their dust made fat with fatnesse. The same quarrell, which God hath against particular men, and particular Nations, for particular sinnes, God hath against all Mankinde, for *Adams* sin. And there is the warre. But what is the peace, and how are we included in that? That is our second and next disquisition, *That peace might be made*.

Pax A man must not presently think himselfe included in this peace, because he feeles no effects of this warre. If God draw none of his swords of warre, or famine, or pestilence, upon thee, (no outward warre,) If God raise not a rebellion in thy selfe, nor fight against thee with thine owne affections, in collectuations betweene the flesh,

³⁵⁰

Gellius

and the spirit; The warre may last, for all this. *Induciarum tempore, bellum manet, licet pugna cesset;* Though there be no blow striken, the warre remaines in the time of Truce. But thy case is not so good; here is no Truce, no cessation, but a continual preparation to a fiercer warre. All this while that thou enjoyest this imaginary security, the Enemy digges insensibly under ground, all this while he undermines thee, and will blow thee up at last more irrecoverably, then if he had battered thee with outward calamities all that time. So any State may be abused with a false peace present, or with a fruit-

³⁶⁰ lesse expectation of a future peace. But in this text, there is true peace, and peace already made; present peace, and safe peace. *Pax non promissa, sed missa,* (sayes St. Bernard, in his musicall and harmonious cadences,) not promised, but already sent; *non dilata, sed data,* not treated, but concluded; *Non prophetata, sed præsentata,* not prophesied, but actually established. There is the presentnesse thereof; And then, made by him, who lacked nothing for the making of a safe peace; For, after his Names of Counsellor, and of the Mighty God; he is called, for the consummation of all, *princeps pacis;* A Counsellor, There is his wisdome, A mighty God, There is his Power:

³⁷⁰ and this Counsellor, This Mighty God, this wise, and this powerfull Prince, hath undertaken to make our peace; But now, that is next, *per sanguinem, Peace being made by bloud.*

Is effusion of bloud the way of peace? effusion of bloud may make them from whom bloud is so abundantly drawne, glad of peace, because they are thereby reduced to a weaknesse. But in our warres, such a weaknesse puts farther off from peace, and puts more fiercenesse in the Enemy. But here, *mercy and truth are met together;* God would be true to his owne Justice, (bloud was forfeited, and he would have bloud) and God would be mercifull to us, he would ³⁸⁰ make us the stronger by drawing bloud, and by drawning our best bloud, the bloud of Christ Jesus. *Simeon and Levi,* when they meditated their revenge for the rape committed upon their sister, when they pretended peace, yet they required a little bloud: They would have the *Sichemites* circumcised: but when they had opened a veyne, they made them bleed to death; when they were under the sorenesse of Circumcision, they slew them all. Gods justice required bloud, but that bloud is not spilt, but poured from that head to our hearts, into

Bernard

Esay 9.6

Per
sanguinem

[Psa. 85.10]

Gen. 34

the veines, and wounds of our owne soules: There was bloud shed, but no bloud lost. Before the Law was thorowly established, when Moses came downe from God, and deprehended the people, in that Idolatry to the Calfe, before he would present himselfe as a Mediator betweene God and them, for that sinne, he prepared a sacrifice of bloud, in the execution of three thousand of those Idolaters, and after that he came to his vehement prayer, in their behalfe. And in the strength of the Law, all things were purged with bloud, and without bloud there is no remission. Whether we place the reason of this in Gods Justice, which required bloud, or whether we place it in the conveniency, that bloud being ordinarily received to be *sedes animæ*, the seat and residence of the soule; The soule, for which, that expiation ⁴⁰⁰ was to be, could not be better represented, nor purified, then in the state, and seat of the soule, in bloud; or whether we shut up our selves in an humble sobriety, to inquire into the reasons of Gods actions, thus we see it was, no peace, no remission, but in bloud. Nor is that so strange, as that which followes in the next place, *per sanguinem ejus, by his bloud.*

Per sanguinem ejus
Psal. 50.10
Hag. 2.8
Bern.
Eccles. 7.16

Before, under the Law, it was *in sanguine hircorum, & vitulorum*; In the bloud of Goats, and Bullocks; here it is *in sanguine ejus*, in his bloud. Not his, as he claims all the beasts of the forrest, all the cattle upon a thousand hils, and all the fowles of the mountaines to be ⁴¹⁰ his; not his, as he sayes of Gold and Silver, The Silver is mine, and the Gold is mine; not his, as he is Lord, and proprietary of all, by Creation; so all bloud is his; no nor his, as the bloud of all the Martyrs was his bloud, (which is a neare relation and consanguinity) but his so, as it was the precious bloud of his body, the seat of his soule, the matter of his spirits, the knot of his life, This bloud he shed for me; and I have bloud to shed for him too, though he call me not to the tryall, nor to the glory of Martyrdome. *Sanguis animæ meæ voluntas mea*, The bloud of my soule is my will; *Scindatur vena ferro compunctionis*, open a veine with that knife, remorce, compunction, *ut si* ⁴²⁰ *non sensus, certe consensus peccati effluat*, That though thou canst not bleed out all motions to sinne, thou maist all consent thereunto. *Noli esse nimium justus; noli sapere plus quam oportet*; St. Bernard makes this use of those Counsels, *Be not righteous overmuch, nor be not overwise, Cui putas venæ parcendum, si justitia & sapientia egent*

minutione, what veine maist thou spare, if thou must open those two veins, righteousnesse, and wisedome? If they may be superfluously abundant, if thou must bleed out some of thy Righteousnesse, and some of thy wisedome, *cui venæ parcendum*, at what veine must thou not bleed? Now in all sacrifices, where bloud was to be offerd, the ⁴³⁰ fat was to be offerd to. If thou wilt sacrifice the bloud of thy soule, (as St. Bernard cals the will) sacrifice the fat too; If thou give over thy purpose of continuing in thy sin, give over the memory of it, and give over all that thou possessest unjustly, and corruptly got by that sinne; else thou keepest the fat from God, though thou give him the bloud. If God had given over at his second daies work, we had had no sunne, no seasons; If at his fift, we had had no beeing; If at the sixth, no Sabbath; but by proceeding to the seventh, we are all, and we have all. *Naaman*, who was out of the covenant, yet, by washing in Jordan seven times, was cured of his leprosie; seaven times did it even in him, ⁴⁴⁰ but lesse did not. The Priest in the Law used a seven-fold sprinkling of bloud upon the Altar; and we observe a seven-fold shedding of bloud in Christ; In his Circumcision, and in his Agony, in his fulfilling of that Prophesie, *genas vellicantibus*, I gave my cheeks to them, that plucked off the haire, and in his scourging; in his crowning, and in his nayling, and lastly, in the piercing of his side. These seven channels hath the bloud of thy Saviour found. Poure out the bloud of thy soule, sacrifice thy stubborne and rebellious will seaven times too; seaven times, that is, every day; and seaven times every day; for so often a just man falleth; And then, how low must that ⁴⁵⁰ man lie at last, if he fall so often, and never rise upon any fall? and therefore raise thy self as often, and as soone as thou fallest. *Iericho* would not fall, but by being compassed seaven dayes, and seaven times in one day. Compasse thy selfe, comprehend thy selfe, seaven times, many times, and thou shalt have thy losse of bloud supplied with better bloud, with a true sense of that peace, which he hath already made, and made by bloud, and by his owne bloud, and *by the bloud of his Crosse*, which is the last branch of this second part.

Greater love hath no man, then to lay downe his life for his friend, yet he that said so, did more then so, more then lay downe his life, ⁴⁶⁰ (for he exposed it to violences, and torments) and all that for his enemies. But doth not the necessity diminish the love? where a testa-

Tostat. in
Levit. fo.
61.D

2 Reg. 5.14

Tostat. in
Levit. 4.
q. 16
Esay 50.6

Prov. 24.16

Jos. 6

Crux
John 15.13

Heb. 9.16

ment is, there must also of necessity be the death of the testator: was there then a necessity in Christs dying? simply a necessity of coaction there was not; such as is in the death of other men, naturall, or violent by the hand of Justice. There was nothing more arbitrary, more voluntary, more spontaneous then all that Christ did for man. And if you could consider a time, before the contract between the Father, and him, had passed, for the redemption of man by his death, we might say, that then there was no necessity upon Christ,

Luc. 24.26

⁴⁷⁰ that he must dye; But because that contract was from all eternity, supposing that contract, that this peace was to be made by his death, there entred the *oportuit pati*, That Christ ought to suffer all these things, and to enter into his glory. And so, as for his death, so for the manner of his death, (*by the Crosse*) it was not of absolute necessity, and yet it was not by casualty neither, not because he was to suffer in that Nation, which did ordinarily punish such Malefactors, (such as he was accused to be) seditious persons, with that manner of death, but all this proceeded *ex pacto*, thus the contract led it, to this

Phil. 2.8

⁴⁸⁰ he was obedient, obedient unto death, and unto the death of the Crosse. By bloud, and not onely by comming into this world, and assuming our nature, (which humiliation was an act of infinite value) and not by the bloud of his Circumcision or Agony, but bloud to death, and by no gentler, nor nobler death, then the death of the Crosse, was this peace to be made by him. Though then one drop of his bloud had beene enough to have redeemed infinite worlds, if it had beene so contracted, and so applyed, yet he gave us, a morning showre of his bloud in his Circumcision, and an evening showre at his passion, and a showre after Sunset, in the piercing of his side. And though any death had beene an incomprehensible ransome, for the

Deut. 21.23

⁴⁹⁰ Lord of life to have given, for the children of death, yet he refused not the death of the Crosse; The Crosse, to which a bitter curse was nayled by *Moses*, from the beginning, he that is hanged, is, (not onely accursed of God, as our Translation hath it,) but he is the curse of God, (as it is in the Originall) not accursed, but a curse; not a simple curse, but the curse of God. And by the Crosse, which besides the Infamy, was so painfull a death, as that many men languished many dayes upon it, before they dyed: And by his bloud of this torture, and this shame, this painfull, and this ignominious death, was this

peace made. In our great work of crucifying our selves to the world
 500 too, it is not enough to bleed the drops of a Circumcision, that is, to
 cut off some excessive, and notorious practice of sin; nor to bleed the
 drops of an Agony, to enter into a conflict and collutation of the
 flesh and the spirit, whether we were not better trust in Gods mercy,
 for our continuance in that sin, then lose all that pleasure and profit,
 which that sin brings us; nor enough to bleed the drops of scourging,
 to be lashed with viperous, and venomous tongues by contumelies,
 and slanders; nor to bleed the drops of Thornes, to have Thornes and
 scruples enter into our consciences, with spirituall afflictions; but we
 must be content to bleed the stremes of naylings to those Crosses,
 510 to continue in them all our lives, if God see that necessary for our
 confirmation; and, if men will pierce and wound us after our deaths
 in our good name, yea, if they will slander our Resurrection, (as they
 did Christs) if they will say, that it is impossible God should have
 mercy upon such a man, impossible that a man of so bad life, and so
 sad and comfortlesse a death, should have a joyfull Resurrection, here
 is our comfort, as that piercing of Christs side was after the *Consum-
 matum est*, after his passion ended, and therefore put him to no paine,
 as that slander of his Resurrection, was after that glorious triumph;
 He was risen and had shewed himselfe before, and therefore it
 520 diminished not his power: so all these posthume wounds, and slanders
 after my death, after my God and my Soule shall have passed that
 Dialogue, *Veni Domine Iesu*, and *euge bone serve*, That I shall have
 said upon my death-bed, Come Lord Jesu, come quickly, and he
 shall have said, Well done good and faithfull servant, enter into thy
 Masters joy, when I shall have said to him, *In manus tuas Domine*,
 Into thy hands O Lord I commend my spirit, And he to me, *Hodie
 mecum eris in paradiso*, This day, this minute thou shalt be, now thou
 art with me in Paradise, when this shall be my state, God shall heare
 their slanders and maledictions, and write them all downe, but not
 530 in my booke, but in theirs, and there they shall meet them at Judge-
 ment, amongst their owne sinnes, to their everlasting confusion, and
 finde me in possession of that peace, made by bloud, made by his
 bloud, made by the bloud of his Crosse, which were all the peeces
 laid out for this second part, with which we have done; and passe
 from the qualification of the person, (*It pleased the Father that in him*

[Jo. 19.30]

[Mat. 25.21
and 23][Luc. 23.46]
[Luc. 23.43]

all fulnesse should dwell) which was our first part, and the Pacification, and the way thereof, (*by the bloud of his Crosse to make peace*) which was our second, to the Reconciliation it selfe, and the Application thereof to all to whom that Reconciliation appertaines, *That*
⁵¹⁰ *all things, whether they be things in earth, or things in heaven, might be reconciled unto him.*

3 Part All this was done; He, in whom *it pleased the Father, that this fulnesse should dwell*, had made this peace by the bloud of his Crosse, and yet, after all this, the Apostle comes upon that Ambassage, We pray ye, in Christs stead, that ye be reconciled to God; So that this Reconciliation in the Text, is a subsequent thing to this peace. The generall peace is made by Christs death, as a generall pardon is given at the Kings comming; The Application of this peace is in the Church, as the suing out of the pardon, is in the Office.

2 Cor. 5.20 ⁵⁵⁰ *Ioab made Absaloms peace with his Father; Bring the young man againe*, sayes *David to Ioab*; but yet he was not reconciled to him, so as that he saw his face in two yeare. God hath sounded a Retreat to the Battle, *As I live, saith the Lord, I would not the death of a sinner*; He hath said to the destroyer, It is enough, stay now thy hand; He is pacified in Christ; and he hath bound the enemy in chaines. Now let us labour for our Reconciliation; for all things are reconciled to him, in Christ, that is, offered a way of reconciliation. All things in heaven and earth, sayes the Apostle. And that is so large, as that *Origen* needed not to have extended it to Hell too, and conceive out
⁵⁶⁰ of this place, a possibility, that the Devils themselves shall come to a Reconciliation with God. But to all in Heaven and Earth it appertaines. Consider we how.

In cœlis First then, there is a reconciliation of them in heaven to God, and then of them on earth to God, and then of them in heaven, and them in earth, to one another, by the blood of his Crosse. If we consider them in heaven, to be those who are gone up to heaven from this world by death, they had the same reconciliation as we; either by reaching the hand of faith forward, to lay hold upon Christ before he came, (which was the case of all under the Law;) or by reaching
⁵⁷⁰ back that hand, to lay hold upon all that hee had done and suffered, when he was come, (which is the case of those that are dead before us in the profession of the Gospell.) All that are in heaven, and were

Animæ

upon earth, are reconciled one way, by application of Christ in the Church; so that, though they be now in heaven, yet they had their reconciliation here upon earth. But if we consider those who are in heaven, and have been so from the first minute of their creation, Angels, why have they, or how have they any reconciliation? How needed they any, and then, how is this of Christ applyed unto them? They needed a confirmation; for the Angels were created in blessed-
 580 nesse, but not in perfect blessednesse; They might fall, they did fall. To those that fell, can appertaine no reconciliation; no more then to those that die in their sins; for *Quod homini mors, Angelis casus;* The fall of the Angels wrought upon them, as the death of a man does upon him; They are both equally incapable of change to better. But to those Angels that stood, their standing being of grace, and their confirmation being not one transient act in God done at once, but a continuall succession, and emanation of daily grace, belongs this reconciliation by Christ, because all matter of grace, and where any deficiency is to be supplyed, whether by way of reparation, as in
 590 man, or by way of confirmation, as in Angels, proceeds from the Crosse, from the Merits of Christ. They are so reconciled then, as that they are *extra lapsus periculum*, out of the danger of falling; but yet this stability, this infallibility is not yet indelibly imprinted in their natures; yet the Angels might fall, if this reconciler did not sustain them; for, if those words *reperit in Angelis iniquitatem*, that God found folly, (weaknesse, infirmity) in his Angels, be to be understood of the good Angels, that stand confirmed, (as *procul dubio de diabolo intelligi non potest*, without all doubt they cannot be understood of the ill Angels) the best service of the best Angels, devested
 600 of that successive grace, that supports them, if God should exact a rigorous account of it, could not be acceptable in the sight of God; So the Angels have a pacification, and a reconciliation, lest they should fall.

August.

Job 4.18

Calvin

In terra

Rom. 8.21

Thus things in heaven are reconciled to God by Christ; and things on earth too. First the creature, as *S. Paul* speakes; that is, other creatures then men. For, at the generall resurrection, (which is rooted in the resurrection of Christ, and so hath relation to him) the creature shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption, into the glorious liberty of the children of God; for which, the whole creation

⁶¹⁰ groanes, and travailes in paine yet. This deliverance then from this bondage, the whole creature hath by Christ, and that is their reconciliation. And then are we reconciled by the blood of his Crosse, when having crucified our selves by a true repentance, we receive the seale of reconciliation, in his blood in the Sacrament. But the most proper, and most litterall sense of these words, is, that all things in heaven and earth, be reconciled to God, (that is, to his glory, to a fitter disposition to glorifie him) by being reconciled to another, in Christ; that in him, as head of the Church, they in heaven, and we upon earth, be united together as one body in the Communion of Saints.

⁶²⁰ For, this text hath a conformity, and a harmony with that to the *Ephesians*, and in sense, as well as in words, is the same, *That God might gather together in one, all things in Christ, both which are in heaven, and which are on earth, even in him*; where the word which we translate (*to gather*) doth properly signifie *recapitulare*, to bring all things to their first head, to Gods first purpose; which was, that Angels, and men, united in Christ Jesus, might glorifie him eternally in the Kingdome of heaven. Then are things in heaven restored and reconciled, (sayes S. *Augustine*) *Cum quod ex Angelis lapsum est, ex hominibus redditur*, when good men have repaired the ruine of

⁶³⁰ the bad Angels, and filled their places. And then are things on earth restored, and reconciled, *Cum prædestinati à corruptionis vetustate renovantur, when Gods elect children are delivered from the corruptions of this world, to which, even they are subject here. Cum humiliati homines redeunt, unde Apostatae superbiendo ceciderunt*, when men by humility are exalted, to those places from which Angels fell by pride, then are all things in heaven and earth reconciled in Christ.

Tostat. in
Levit. 16

⁶⁴⁰ The blood of the sacrifices was brought by the high priest, *in sanctum sanctorum*, into the place of greatest holinesse; but it was brought but once, *in festo expiationis*, in the feast of expiation; but, in the other parts of the Temple, it was sprinkled every day. The blood of the Crosse of Christ Jesus hath had his effect *in sancto sanctorum*, even in the highest heavens, in supplying their places that fell, in confirming them that stood, and in uniting us and them, in himselfe, as Head of all. In the other parts of the Temple it is to be sprinkled daily. Here, in the militant Church upon earth, there is still

Gregor.

a reconciliation to be made; not only toward one another, in the band of charity, but in our selves. In our selves we may finde things in heaven, and things on earth to reconcile. There is a heavenly zeale,
 650 but if it be not reconciled to discretion, there is a heavenly purity, but if it be not reconciled to the bearing of one anothers infirmities, there is a heavenly liberty, but if it be not reconciled to a care, for the prevention of scandall, All things in our heaven, and our earth are not reconciled in Christ. In a word, till the flesh and the spirit be reconciled, this reconciliation is not accomplished. For, neither spirit, nor flesh must be destroyed in us; a spirituall man is not all spirit, he is a man still. But then is flesh and spirit reconciled in Christ, when in all the faculties of the soule, and all the organs of the body we glorifie him in this world; for then, in the next world wee shall be glorified
 660 by him, and with him, in soule, and in body too, where we shall bee thoroughly reconciled to one another, no suits, no controversies; and thoroughly to the Angels; when we shall not only be *sicut Angeli*, as the Angels in some one property, but *æquales Angelis*, equall to the Angels in all, for, *Non erunt duæ societates Angelorum & hominum*, Men and Angels shall not make two companies, *sed omnium beatitudo erit, uni adhaerere Deo*, this shall be the blessednesse of them both, to be united in one head, Christ Jesus.

And these reconcilings are reconcilings enow; for these are all that are in heaven and earth. If you will reconcile things in heaven,
 670 and earth, with things in hell, that is a reconciling out of this Text. If you will mingle the service of God, and the service of this world, there is no reconciling of God and Mammon in this Text. If you will mingle a true religion, and a false religion, there is no reconciling of God and Belial in this Text. For the adhering of persons born within the Church of Rome, to the Church of Rome, our law sayes nothing to them if they come; But for reconciling to the Church of Rome, by persons born within the Allegiance of the King, or for perswading of men to be so reconciled, our law hath called by an infamous and Capitall name of Treason, and yet every Tavern, and Ordinary is full
 680 of such Traitors. Every place from jest to earnest is filled with them; from the very stage to the death-bed; At a Comedy they will perswade you, as you sit, as you laugh, And in your sicknesse they will perswade you, as you lye, as you dye. And not only in the bed of sicknesse, but

Mat. 22,30
Luc. 20,36

August.

in the bed of wantonnesse they perswade too; and there may be examples of women, that have thought it a fit way to gain a soul, by prostituting themselves, and by entertaining unlawfull love, with a purpose to convert a servant, which is somewhat a strange Topique, to draw arguments of religion from. Let me see a Dominican and a Jesuit reconciled, in doctrinall papistry, for freewill and predestina-
⁶⁹⁰tion, Let me see a French papist and an Italian papist reconciled in State-papistry, for the Popes jurisdiction, Let me see the jesuits, and the secular priests reconciled in England, and when they are reconciled to one another, let them presse reconciliation to their Church. To end all, Those men have their bodies from the earth, and they have their soules from heaven; and so all things in earth and heaven are reconciled: but they have their Doctrine from the Devill; and for things in hell, there is no peace made, and with things in hell, there is no reconciliation to be had by the blood of his Crosse, except we will tread that blood under our feet, and make a mock of Christ Jesus,
⁷⁰⁰ and crucifie the Lord of Life againe.

Number 12.

Preached upon Candlemas day.

ROM. 13.7. *RENDER THEREFORE TO ALL MEN THEIR DUES.*

The Text being part of the Epistle of that day, that yeare.

THE LARGENESSE of this short Text consists in that word, *Therefore*; therefore because you have been so particularly taught your particular duties, therefore perform them, therefore practise them, *Reddite omnibus debita, Render therefore to every man his due.* The Philosopher might seem to have contracted as large a law, into a few words, in his *suum cuique*, as the Holy Ghost had done in his *Reddite omnibus*, if it were not for this, *Therefore*; for that carries our consideration over the whole Epistle. This Epistle particularizing all duties, which appertaine *ad pietatem erga Deum*, to
¹⁰ our religious worship of God, *ad charitatem erga proximum*, to charitable offices towards one another, and *ad sanctimoniam propriam*, to a sanctification and holinesse of life in our selves. You have seen a list of your debts, sayes the Apostle, (and that men deeply indebted are loath to doe) you have seen what you owe God, what you owe your selves, and what you owe the world, *Reddite ergo omnibus debita*, be therefore behinde hand with none of these, but render unto all their dues: For, our debts here are not restrained to those that are mentioned in the following part of this verse, Tribute, and Custome, and Feare, and Honour, but it is the knot that ties up all, and this
²⁰ Text in this verse, is the same that begins the next verse also; *Reddite debita omnibus, Render to all men their dues*, and *Nemini quicquam debeas, Owe nothing to any man*, is all one: It is farther then many

use to come, to know what they owe; since I have brought you so far, sayes our Apostle, *Render to all men their dues.*

Divisio

It is one degree of thrift, (but for the most part it comes late) to bring our debts into as few hands as we can. Our debt here we cannot bring into fewer then these three, to God, to our Neighbour, to our selves. Consider our debts to God, to be our sins, and so we dare not come to a reckoning with him, but we discharge our selves in-
³⁰ tirely upon our surety, our Saviour Christ Jesus: but yet of that debt we must pay an acknowledgement, an interest (as it were) of praise, for all that we have, and of prayer for all that we would have, and these are our debts to God. Consider our debts to man, and our creditors are persons above us, and persons below us, superiours, and inferiours; and to superiours (who are the persons of whom this Text, or this verse, is most literally intended) we are debtors first in matter of substance, expressed here, in those words Tribute, and Custome; and in matter of ceremony, expressed here, in those words, Fear, and Honour. And to our inferiours, we are debtors for counsell to
⁴⁰ direct them, and for reliefs in compassion of their sufferings. And then to come to our third sort of creditors, to our selves, we owe our selves some debts which are to be tendred at noone, which are to be paid in our best strength and prosperity, in the course of our lives; and some which are to be tendred at night, at our Sun-set, at our deaths: *Reddite ergo omnibus, Render therefore to all their dues.* For your first debt, to God, we bring you to Church; this is no place to arrest in; but yet the Spirit of God calls upon you for those debts, praise him in his holy place, and pray to him in his house, which is the house of prayer. For your debts of the second kinde, to other men,
⁵⁰ for those to superiours, we send you to Court; for those to inferiours, we send you to Hospitals, and prisons; and though Courts and prisons be ill paying places, yet pay you your debts of substance, and of ceremony, of tribute, and of honour, at Court; and your debt of counsell and relief to those that need them, in the darkest corners. And for your third kinde of debts, debts to your selves, make eaven with your selves all the way in your lives, lest your payment prove too heavy, and you break, and your hearts breake, when you come to see that you cannot doe that upon your death-bed: *Reddite omnibus, Render to all, to God, to man, to your selves, their dues.*

60 To begin then with our beginning, our debts to God; if we take that definition of debts, which arises out of the sound of the word, *Debere est de alio habere*, a man owes all that which he hath received of another, we are debtors of all that we have, and all that we are, to God; our well being, and our very being is from him. If we take that definition of debt, *Debere est Iure aliquo teneri ad dandum aut faciendum aliquid*, To owe, is to be bound by some Law, to give something, or to doe something to some person; The Law of Nature in our hearts, the Law of the Creature in our eyes, the Law of the Word in our eares, provokes us to give and to doe something to that
 70 God, who hath given and done all to us; and more then giving or doing, hath suffered so much for us. What then is the painment which we are to make? First, Glory, Praise: For, in all his works, God still proposed to himselfe, his Glory. Those men who will needs be of Gods Cabinet Counsell, and pronounce what God did first, what was his first Decree, and the first clause in that Decree, those men who will needs know, and then publish Gods secrets, (And, by the way, that, which sometimes it may concerne us to know, yet it may be a Libell to publish it) Those mysteries, which, for the opposing and countermining stubborne, and perverse Heresies, it may concerne us,
 80 in Councils and Synods, and other fit places, to argue, and to cleare, it may be an injury to God, and against his Crowne, and Dignity, in breaking the peace of the Church, to publish and divulge to every popular auditory, and every itching eare, and thereby perplexe the consciences of weak men, or offer contentious men, that which is their food, and delight, disputation; These men, I say, though they differ, in their order, whether Gods Decree of Reprobation and Salvation, were before his Decree of Creation, (for some place it before, and some after) yet all, on all sides agree in this, That Gods first purpose was his owne glory; that was his first Decree, by what degrees soever
 90 he proceeded to the execution of that Decree. And so in the great and incomprehensible work of our Salvation, when that was uttered in the mouth of Angels to the Shepheards, that Ambassage began with a *Gloria in excelsis*, There was Peace upon earth, and there was good will towards men, but first there was Glory to God on high. And though to correct Hereticall and Schismatical men, amongst whom, some would expresse themselves in Gods service, in one manner, and

1 Part
Deo

Laus

[Luke 2.14]

some in another, to the endangering of Doctrine, and to the confusion of Order, and thereupon some would say, in the Church-Service, *Gloria Patri, in Filio, per Spiritum Sanctum*, Glory be to the Father, ¹⁰⁰ in the Son, by the Holy Ghost; And some *Gloria Patri per Filium*, Glory be to the Father by the Son; And some *Gloria Patri, & Filio, per Spiritum Sanctum*, Glory be to the Father, and the Son, by the Holy Ghost; Though to prevent the danger of these divers formes of service, the Church came to determine all, in that one, Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, yet we see out of the formes of the Heretiques themselves, still so farre as they conceived the Godhead to extend, so farre they extended Glory, in that holy acclamation; those who beleevered not the Son to be God, or the Holy Ghost not to be God, left out Glory, when they came to their ¹¹⁰ Persons; but to him that is God, in all confessions, Glory appertains. Now Glory is, *Clara cum laude notitia*, sayes S. *Ambrose*: It is an evident knowledge, and acknowledgement of God, by which, others come to know him too; which acknowledgement is well called a recognition, for it is a second, a ruminated, a reflected knowledge: Beasts doe remember, but they doe not remember that they remember; they doe not reflect upon it, which is that that constitutes memory: Every carnall and naturall man knowes God, but the acknowledgement, the recognition, the manifestation of the greatnessse and goodnesse of God, accompanied with praise of him for that, this appertaines to the ¹²⁰ godly man, and this constitutes glory. If God have delivered me from a sicknesse, and I doe not glorifie him for that, that is, make others know his goodnesse to me, my sicknesse is but changed to a spirituall apoplexy, to a lethargy, to a stupefaction. If God have delivered us from destruction in the bowels of the Sea, in an Invasion, and from destruction in the bowels of the earth, in the Powder-treason, and we grow faint in the publication of our thanks for this deliverance, our punishment is but aggravated, for we shall be destroyed both for those old sins which induced those attempts of those destructions, and for this later and greater sin, of forgetting those deliverances; God ¹³⁰ requires nothing else; but he requires that, Glory and Praise. And that booke of the Scriptures, of which, S. *Basil* sayes, That if all the other parts of Scripture could perish, yet out of that booke alone, we might have enough for all uses, for Catechizing, for Preaching, for

Disputing; That whole Booke, which containes all subjects that appertaine to Religion, is called altogether *Sepher Tehillim, The Booke of praises*, for all our Religion is Praise. And of that Book every particular Psalme is appointed by the Church, and continued at least for a thousand and two hundred yeares, to be shut up with that humble and glorious acclamation, Glory be to the Father, and to the

¹⁴⁰ Son, and to the Holy Ghost; *O that men would therefore praise the*

[Psa. 107.31]

Lord, and declare the wonderfull works that he doth for the sons of men! Nil quisquam debet nisi quod turpe est, non reddere, sayes the

Law: It is *Turpe*, an infamous and ignominious thing, not to pay debt; And, infamous and ignominious, are heavy and reproachfull words in the Law; and the Gospell would adde to that *Turpe, Impium*: It is not onely an infamous but an impious, an irreligious thing, not to pay debts. As in debts, the State, and the Judge is my security, they undertake I shall be paid, or they execute Judgement;

so, consider our selves as Christians, God is my security, and he will

¹⁵⁰ punish where I am defrauded. Either thou owest God nothing, (And then, if thou owe him nothing, from whom, or from what hath she stollen that face, that is faire; or he that estate, that is rich; or that office, that commands others; or that learning, and those orders and commission, that preaches to others; or they their soules, that understand me now? If you owe nothing, from whom had you all these, all this?) Or if thou dost owe, *Turpe est, Impium est*, It is an unworthy, it is an dishonest, it is an irreligious thing, not to pay him, in that money, which his owne Spirit mints, and coynes in thee, and of his owne bullion too, praise and thanksgiving. Not to pay him

¹⁶⁰ then, when he himselfe gives thee the money that must pay him, the Spirit of Thankfulness, falls under all the reproaches, that Law or Gospell can inflict in any names. How many men have we seene molder and crumble away great estates, and yet pay no debts? It is all our cases: What Poems, and what Orations we make, how industrious, and witty we are, to over-praise men, and never give God his due praise? Nay how often is the Pulpit it selfe, made the shop, and the Theatre of praise upon present men, and God left out? How often is that called a Sermon, that speakes more of Great men, then of our great God? *Laudate eum omnes Angeli ejus, laudate eum omnes virtutes ejus; David calls upon the Angels, and all the Host*

Psal. 148.2

of Heaven, to praise God, and in the Romane Church, they will employ willingly all their praise upon the Angels, and the Host of Heaven it selfe; and this is not *reddere debitum*; here is mony enough spent, but no debt paid; praise enough given, but not to the true God. *Laudate eum ligna fructifera, & universa pecora, & volucres pennatae*, sayes David there; David calls upon fruits, and fowle, and cattle to praise God, and we praise, and set forth our lands, and fruits, and fowle, and cattle, with all Hyperbolicall praises; and this is not *reddere debitum*, no painment of a debt, where it is due.

Ver. 10

¹⁸⁰ *Laudate eum juvenes, & senes, & virgines*, sayes David too; He calls upon old men, and young men, and virgins, to praise the Lord, and we spend all our praises, upon young men, which are growing up in favour, or upon old men, who have the government in their hands, or upon maidens, towards whom our affections have transported us, and all this is no painment of the debt of praise. *Laudate eum Reges terræ, Principes & omnes Iudices*; He calls upon Kings, and Judges, and Magistrates to praise God, and we employ all our praise upon the actions of those persons themselves. Beloved, God cannot be flattered, he

V. 11

¹⁹⁰ God: But he cannot be mocked neither; He will not be told, I have praised thee, in praising thy creature, which is thine Image; would that discharge any of my debt to a Merchant, to tell him, that I had bestowed as much, or more mony then my debt, upon his picture? Though Princes, and Judges, and Magistrates be pictures, and Images of God, though beauty, and riches, and honour, and power, and favour, be, in a proportion, so too, yet, as I bought not that Merchants picture, because it was his, or for love of him, but because it was a good peece, and of a good Masters hand, and a good house-ornament; so though I spend my nightes, and dayes, and thoughts, and spirits,

²⁰⁰ and words, and preaching, and writing, upon Princes, and Judges, and Magistrates, and persons of estimation, and their praise, yet my intention determines in that use which I have of their favour, and respects not the glory of God in them; and when I have spent my selfe to the last farthing, my lungs to the last breath, my wit to the last Metaphore, my tongue to the last syllable, I have not paid a farthing of my debt to God; I have not praised him, but I have praised them, till not only my selfe, but even they, whom I have so mis-

praised, are the worse in the sight of God, for my over-praising; I have flattered them, and they have taken occasion by that, to thinke
²¹⁰ that their faults are not discerned, and so they have proceeded in them.

This is then our first debt to God, glory and praise, which is, (as we said out of S. *Ambrose*) a manifestation of Gods blessing to us: for it is not towards God as it is towards great persons, under whom we have risen, that we should be afraid to let the world know, how rich we are, lest they that raised us, should borrow of us, or draw us into bands for them: God requires nothing but the glory, the manifestation, that by knowing what he hath done for thee, others may know what to hope, and what to pray for, at his hands: In our debts
²²⁰ to God, the *noverint universi*, is the *quietus est*, our publishing of them, to his praise and glory, is his acquittance and discharge for them.

Our other debt to God is Prayer, for that also is due to him, and him onely; For, *Si quod petendum est petis, sed non à quo petendum est, impius es*: If we direct our prayers to any, even for temporall things, as to the Authors of those benefits, we may poure out as many prayers, as would have paid that debt, if they had been rightly placed, but yet by such a paiment, our debt is growne a debt of a higher nature, a sin. This is a circumstance, nay, an essentiaill difference peculiar to our debts to God, that we doe not pay them, except we contract
²³⁰ more; we grow best out of debt, by growing farther in debt; by praying for more, we pay our former debt. *Domus mea Domus Orationis*, my house, saies God, is a house of prayer; for this use, and purpose, he built himselfe a house upon earth; He had praise and glory in heaven before, but for Prayer he erected a house here, his Church. All the world is his Exchequer, he gives in all; from every creature, from Heaven, and Sea, and Land, and all the inhabitants of all them, we receive benefits; But the Church is his Court of Requests, there he receives our petitions, there we receive his answers.

It is true that neither is that house onely for prayer, nor prayer
²⁴⁰ only for that house: Christ, in his person, consecrated that place, the Temple, by Preaching too: And for prayer elsewhere, Christ did much accustome himselfe to private prayer: But in him, who was truly Head of the Church, the whole Church was; Christ alone, was

Oratio
August.

[Isa. 56.7]

a Congregation, he was the Catholique Church. But when we meet in Gods house, though, by occasion, there be no Sermon, yet if we meet to pray, we pay our debt, we doe our duty; so doe we not, if we meet at a Sermon, without prayer. The Church is the house of prayer, so, as that upon occasion, preaching may be left out, but never a house of preaching, so, as that Prayer may be left out. And for the debt of ²⁵⁰ prayer, God will not be paid, with money of our owne coyning, (with sudden, extemporall, inconsiderate prayer) but with currant money, that beares the Kings Image, and inscription; The Church of God, by his Ordinance, hath set his stampe, upon a Liturgie and Service, for his house. *Audit Deus in corde cogitantis, quod nec ipse audit, qui cogitat*, sayes S. *Bernard*: God heares the very first motions of a mans heart, which, that man, till he proceed to a farther consideration, doth not heare, not feele, not reprehend in himselfe.

That soule, that is accustomed to direct her selfe to God, upon every occasion, that, as a flowre at Sun-rising, conceives a sense of ²⁶⁰ God, in every beame of his, and spreads and dilates it selfe towards him, in a thankfulness, in every small blessing that he sheds upon her; that soule, that as a flowre at the Suns declining, contracts and gathers in, and shuts up her selfe, as though she had received a blow, when soever she heares her Saviour wounded by an oath, or blasphemy, or execration; that soule, who, whatsoever string be stricken in her, base or treble, her high or her low estate, is ever tun'd toward God, that soule prayes sometimes when it does not know that it prayes. I heare that man name God, and aske him what said you, and perchance he cannot tell; but I remember, that he casts forth some of ²⁷⁰ those *ejaculationes animæ*, (as S. *Augustine* calls them) some of those darts of a devout soule, which, though they have not particular deliberations, and be not formall prayers, yet they are the *indicia*, pregnant evidences and blessed fruits of a religious custome; much more is it true, which S. *Bernard* saies there, of them, *Deus audit*, God heares that voice of the heart, which the heart it selfe heares not, that is, at first considers not. Those occasionall and transitory prayers, and those fixed and stationary prayers, for which, many times, we binde our selves to private prayer at such a time, are payments of this debt, in such peeces, and in such summes, as God, no doubt, accepts at our ²⁸⁰ hands. But yet the solemne dayes of payment, are the Sabbaths of

the Lord, and the place of this payment, is the house of the Lord, where, as *Tertullian* expresses it, *Agmine facto*, we muster our forces together, and besiege God; that is, not taking up every tatter'd fellow, every sudden ragge or fragment of speech, that rises from our tongue, or our affections, but mustering up those words, which the Church hath levied for that service, in the Confessions, and Absolutions, and Collects, and Litanies of the Church, we pay this debt, and we receive our acquittance. First, we must be sure to pray, where we may be sure to speed, and onely God can give. It is a strange thing, saies *Iustin*

²⁹⁰ *Martyr*, to pray to *Esculapius* or to *Apollo* for health, as Gods thereof, *Qui apud Chironem medicinam didicerunt*; when they who pray to them, may know, to whom those gods were beholden for all their medicines, and of whom they learnt all their physick: why should they not rather pray to their Masters, then to them? why should *Apollo*, *Chiroes* scholar, and not *Chiro*, *Apollo's* Master, be the god of physick? why should I pray to S. *George* for victory, when I may goe to the Lord of Hosts, Almighty God himselfe; or consult with a Seargeant, or Corporall, when I may goe to the Generall? Or to another Saint for peace, when I may goe to the Prince of peace Christ

³⁰⁰ Jesus? Why should I pray to Saint *Nicolas* for a faire passage at Sea, when he that rebuked the storme, is nearer me then S. *Nicolas*? why should I pray to S. *Antony* for my hoggs, when he that gave the devill leave to drowne the Gergesens whole heard of hoggs, did not do that by S. *Antonies* leave, nor by putting a caveat or præ-non-obstante in his monopoly of preserving hoggs? I know not where to finde S. *Petronilla* when I have an ague, nor S. *Apollonia*, when I have the tooth-ache, nor S. *Liberius*, when I have the stone: I know not whether they can heare me in Heaven, or no; Our Adversaries will not say, that all Saints in Heaven heare all that is said on earth: I know not

³¹⁰ whether they be in Heaven or no: our Adversaries will not say, that the Pope may not erre, in a matter of fact, and so may canonize a Traytor for a Saint: I know not whether those Saints were ever upon earth or no; our Adversaries will not say, that all their Legends were really, historically true, but that many of them, are holy, but yet symbolicall inventions, to figure out not what was truly done before, but what wee should endeavour to doe now. I know my Redeemer liveth, and I know where he is; and no man knowes, where he is not.

He is our Creditor, to him we must pray. But for what? we may finde in some respects a better modell of prayer in heathen, and un-³²⁰ christian Rome, then in superstitious Rome. There wee finde their prayer to have beene, *Aut innocentiam des nobis, aut maturam pœnitentiam*; preserve us O Lord, in an innocencie, or afford us a speedy repentance: And as we finde that there was in that State a publique Officer, *Conditor precum*, that made their Collects, and prayers for publique use, so wee finde in their prayers, that which may make us ashame'd; At first, for many yeares, their prayer was, *Vt res populi Romani ampliores facerent*, that their Gods would enlarge their State; after that, it was, *Vt res perpetuò incolumes servarent*, that their Gods would preserve, and establish them, in that State; And after, *Vota nuncupata, si res eo stetissent statu*; They vowed their service, and their sacrifice to God, upon condition that he should keepe them alwaies in that State, and not otherwise. So far therefore they may be our example, that they contented themselves with a competency, but not, that they made themselves Judges of that competency. We come to Gods house to pay a debt, and our debt is, to confesse that we can have from none but him, nor desire from him any more, then he is pleased to give.

2 Part

We come now to our second sort of Creditors, to whom wee are commanded to render their dues; to men: And of them, to our Super-³⁴⁰riors first, and then to our Inferiors. For, that with which, the Apostle enters into this Chapter, *Omnis anima*, Let every soule be subject to the higher powers, S. Chrysostome applies *Ad Prophetam, & Euangelistam*, though he were a Prophet, or an Euangelist; S. Bernard, *Ad Episcopum, & Archiepiscopum*, though a Bishop, or Archbishop, (for, though they be as spirituall meteors betweene Heaven, and earth, and stand betweene God and us, yet they are subject to that jurisdiction, which God hath given man over man, though they were in an extraordinary calling, (the Prophets were so) yet they were subject to an ordinary jurisdiction;) And *Theophylact*, and ³⁵⁰ *Theodoret* both, apply it *ad Monachum & Fratrem*, to Monks and Friers; though they seeme to be gone out of the world, yet to this entendment, of being subject to higher powers, they are all within the world, no Cloyster, no Cathedrall Church, no profession, no dignity is a sanctuary, a priviledged place from the payment of this debt.

Here is a *Quo warranto* to be brought against all, and what exception can bee pleaded to this *Omnis anima*, let every soule be subject? The Anabaptist would not pay this debt, hee acknowledges no Magistrate, and yet *John Baptist* did, who submitted himselfe to *Herod*; The Jesuit will not pay this debt, he acknowledges no secular Magistrate,³⁶⁰ and yet Christ Jesus did, who submitted himselfe to *Pilate*; *Nemo secularior Pilato, cui adstitit Dominus judicandus*, saies S. *Bernard*, there was never a more secular Judge then *Pilate*, and yet the Lord of life was judg'd to death by him.

We cannot enlarge this consideration to all our Creditors, in these debts, not to all Superiors, naturall, as Parents, and civil, as Magistrates, and Ecclesiasticall, as Prelates, and that which is mixt of all, matrimoniall, from the wife to the husband, and therefore we contract it to the roote of all, the Soveraigne; And to him we consider first a Reall, and substantiall, and then a circumstantiall and ceremoniall debt. The substantiall debt is paid in a faithfull, in a ready and chearfull paying of those debts, those Tributes, and Customes, (as the Apostle calls them here) which belong to the King, and he that makes no conscience in defrauding the publique, he that withholds part of this debt, whensoever he can, he would pay that which he payes, in counterfeit money, if he durst: hee that deceives, because he sees he can scape with that deceit, he would coyne too, if he saw too, that he could scape for that coyning. A principall reason that makes coyning and adulterating of money capitall in all states, is not so much because hee that coynes usurpes the Princes authority, (for³⁷⁰ every coynier is not a pretender to the Crowne) nor because he diminishes the Princes majesty, (for what is the Prince the worse in that his face is stamped by another in base mettall, then when that is done by himselfe, or when his face is graved in any stone that is not precious?) as because he that coynes, injuries the publique: and no man injuries the publique more, then he, who defrauds him, who is Gods steward for the publique, the King. In matter of cloathes and apparell, God wrought a miracle in private mens cases, in continuing and enlarging the children of Israels cloathes in the wildernes: In matter of meat he wrought a miracle in private mens behalfe too, in³⁸⁰ feeding so many, with so few loafes, and fishes; and so he did for drinke too, in a miraculous providing of wine at the Marriage; for,

Princeps

Realis

meat, and drink, and cloathes are things necessary for every man: But because money is not so, if these other things may otherwise be had, (as some nations have lived, by permutation of commodities, without money) therefore God never wrought a miracle in matter of money, in any private mans case; But because money is the most necessary of all, to the publique, to the Prince, therefore he wrought a miracle for that; and for that, onely then, when that money was to be employed upon tribute to Cæsar; no miracle in matter of money

Mat. 17.27

⁴⁰⁰ but for tribute. As it is a signe of subjection to see a man stand bare headed, so it may be a declination towards a worse condition, to see a State bare headed, to see the Prince, the Head, kept bare, by being either defrauded of that which is ordinarily due to him, or denied that which becomes also due in the payment, though it were extraordinarily given in the grant. But I am not here, to deale upon affections, but consciences, and but so far upon them, in this point, as they finde themselves in a rectified, and well examined conscience, to have beene enemies to the publique, by having defrauded that, by any meanes, of that which was truly due to it. And to bring that into

⁴¹⁰ consideration, which is little considered, that as it is a greater sinne to defraud the publique, then to defraud any private person, so doth the assisting of the publique lay a greater obligation upon us, then the assisting of any other, by private almes.

*Cere-
monialis*

The other debt from us to men, and of them to Superiours, and of them principally to the Soveraigne, we called ceremoniall; And the Apostle, in that which followes in this verse, referres chiefly to that, in those words, Feare, and Honour, for it consists especially in those things, wherein, by outward reverence, we contribute to the maintenance, and upholding of the dignity of the Prince; and of ⁴²⁰ these outward ceremoniall things hath God alwaies professed himselfe to be most jealous. And, (if I mistake not, as I may easily doe, in things so far removed out of my way) when in your judicall proceedings in criminall causes, you make the greatest offences to be against the Crowne and Dignity, in the first, (the Crowne) you intend the essentiall part, and in the other, (the Dignity) the ceremoniall, the Honour, and Reverence, and Reputation of the Prince. God gave his very Essence to his Son, he was very God of very God; But when this Son of his became man, that which God sayes in gen-

erall, my Honour will I give to no man, reaches so far to the Son of
 430 God himselfe, as that the honour due to God, is not to be given to the body, not to the manhood of Christ Jesus himselfe. How very great a part of the Law of God was ceremoniall? and how very heavy punishments were ordained for the breakers even of those Ceremonies? The Sabbaths themselves, S. *Paul* puts amongst Ceremonies: And that man, who assisted the Reformation of Religion, with as much learning, and modesty, as any, defines the Commandment of the Sabbath well, to be *Morale præceptum, de Ceremoniali*, That though the Commandment be morall, and binde all men for ever, yet that which is commanded in that morall Commandement, is in
 440 it selfe Ceremoniall; for, indeed, all that which we call by the generall name of Religion, as it is the outward worship of God, is Ceremoniall, and there is nothing more morall, then that some ceremoniall things there must be. Now, as these Ceremoniall things are due to God himselfe, so are they to them, to whom God hath imparted his name, in saying they are Gods. Wee shall not read in any secular or prophane story, of greater humility and reverence in subjects to their Princes, then in the booke of God, to the Kings there. What phrases of abjecting themselves, in respect of the Prince, can exceed *Davids* humble expressing of himselfe to *Saul*? Or *Daniels* magnifying the
 450 King, when he cals him King of Kings? And certainly some of the best, and most religious of Christian Emperors tooke to themselves so great Titles, in their stile, as can be excused no other way, but because their Predecessors had done so, there lay a necessity upon them, to keepe this ceremoniall respect and dignity, at the same heighth, because upon the Ceremoniall, much of the Essentiall depends too. And therefore God pierces to the roote, to the heart, when he forbids an irreverent, or unrespective thought of the Prince, for, saies he, *Those that have wings, shall declare the matter*; God employs so many Informers, as Angels; It is not an office unworthy of the Angels
 460 of Heaven, much lesse of any other Angels of the Church, (no, not though it be delivered by way of confession) to discover any disloyall purposes; though in other cases, by our owne Canons, that seale of Confession lay justly a strong obligation upon us, and God gives Angels an ability, a faculty, which in their nature they have not, that is, to know thoughts, for this purpose, for the discovery of such irrev-

Colos. 2.16
Melancthon

Eccles. 10.20

erent, and disloyall hearts. Angels doe not know thoughts naturally, yet to this purpose they shall know thoughts, saies God. Morall men should not discover the secrets of friends, we should not discover the things we receive in confession; but when it comes to matter of dis-
⁴⁷⁰ loyalty, all morall seales, and all Ecclesiasticall seales lose their obligation.

The foote of this account, the totall summe of this Ceremoniall debt to Superiors, is, that due respect be given to every man, in his place; for when young men thinke it the onely argument of a good spirit, to behave themselves fellowly, and frowardly to great persons, those greater persons in time, take away their respect from Princes, and at last, (for in the chain of order, every link depends upon one another) God loses the respect and honour due to him; private men lessen their respect of Magistrates, and Magistrates of Princes, and
⁴⁸⁰ Princes and all, of God. And therefore, that which S. *Chrysostome* sayes of the highest rank, *Non putas Christianæ philosophiæ dignitatem lædi*, reaches to all sorts, Let no man think that he departs from the dignity of a Christian, in attributing to every man that which appertains to the dignity of his place. I speak not all this, as though a man should lose the substance for the ceremony; that that man, whose place it is to advise and counsell, should be so ceremonious with his superiour, as to concurre with him in the allowance of all his errors. *Caput meum conquassatum est* (it is an expostulation of S. *Bernards*) My head is bruised, corrupted, putrified, (he speakes it
⁴⁹⁰ of his head, his superiour, a Bishop) *Et jam sanguine ebulliente, putaverim esse tegendum*, now my head runs downe with blood, can I think to cover it? *Quicquid apposuero, cruentabitur*, whatsoever I lay to it will be bloody too; if I dissemble, or cover his faults, his blood will fall upon me, and I shall have part of his sins. Every wife hath a superiour at home, so hath every childe, and every servant, and every man a superiour some where, in some respect, that is, in a spirituall respect: for so, not only the King, but the highest spirituall person hath a superiour for absolution. And to this superiour respectively, every man owes a ceremoniall respect, as a debt, though this debt be
⁵⁰⁰ not so far, as to accompany him, or to encourage him in his ill purposes, for that is too high a ceremony, and too transcendent a complement, to be damned for his sake, by concurring with my superiour

in his sins. And then, they whose office it is to direct, even their superiors, by their counsell, (as that office may in cases belong to a wife, to a childe, to a servant, as *Job* professes it was in his family) have also a ceremoniall duty in that duty, which is, to doe even that, with sweetnesse, with respect, with reverence. It was a better rule in so high a businesse, then a man would look for at a Friars hands, which S. *Bernard* hath, *Absque prudentia & benevolentia, non sunt perfecta consilia*:

⁵¹⁰ No man is a good Counsellor, for all his wisdome, and for all his liberty of speech, except he love the person whom he counsels: If he do not wish him well, as well as tell him his faults, he is rather a Satyrist, and a Calumniator, and seeks to vent his own wisdome, and to exercise his authority, then a good Counsellor. And therefore, sayes that Father, before Christ took *Peter* into that high place, he asked him, and asked him thrice, *Amas me? Lovest thou me?* He would be sure of his love to him first, before he preferred him; *Vix in multitudine hominum, unum reperio, in utraque gratia consummatum*, sayes he still: Not one man amongst a thousand, that

⁵²⁰ is both able to give counsell to great persons, and then doth that office out of love to that person, but rather to let others see his ability in himself, or his authority and power over that person, and so upon pretence of counselling, opens his weaknesses to the knowledge, and to the contempt of other men; as *Davids* wife, when he had danced (as she thought) undecently before the Ark, spoke freely enough, with liberty enough, but it was with scorn, and contempt: And this is in no sort any payment of this ceremoniall debt, which is, (that the foundations, and the substance being preserved, that is, the glory of God, and morall, and religious truths being kept inviolate) to

⁵³⁰ think, and say, and doe, those things which may conduce to the estimation, and dignity of his superior.

Now this hath led us to our other list of humane creditors, that is, our inferiors, and to render to them also their dues; for, to them we said at beginning, there was due, counsell, if they were weak in understanding; and there was due, relieve, if they were weak in their fortunes. For the first, there are some persons in so high place in this world, as that they can owe nothing to any temporall superior, for they have none: But there is none so low in this world, but he hath some lower then he is, to pay this debt of counsell and advise to: at

[John
21.15-17]

[1 Chron.
15.29]

Inferiores

⁵⁴⁰ least the debt of prayer for him, if he will not receive the debt of counsell to him. But in this place (for haste) we contract our selves to the debt of relieve to the poore: Amongst whom, we may consider one sort of poore whom we our selves have made poore, and damniſed, and then our debt is Restitution, and another sort, whom God, for reasons unknowne to us hath made poore, and there our debt is Almes. For the first of these (those whom thou hast damniſed and made poore) thou needſt not come to the Apostles question of the blinde man, *Did this man ſin or his parents, that he is born blinde?*

[John 9.2]

Did this man waste himſelf in house-keeping, or in play, or in ⁵⁵⁰ wantonnesſe, that he is become poore? *Neither he ſinned, nor his parents*, ſayes Christ; neither excesſe, nor play, nor wantonnesſe hath undone this man, but thy prevarication in his cause, thy extortion, thy oppression: And now he starves, and thou huntſt after a popular reputation of a good house-keeper with his meate; now he freezes in nakednesſe, and thy train shines in liveries out of his Wardrobe; every Conſtable is ready to lay hold upon him for a rogue, and thy ſon is Knighted with his mony. *Sileat licet fama, non sileat fames*, ſayes good and holy *Bernard*, fame may be ſilent, but famine will not: perchance the world knowes not this, or is weary of ſpeaking of ⁵⁶⁰ it, but those poore wretches that starve by thy oppression, know it, and cry out in his hearing, where thine own conſcience accompañies them, and cryes out with them againſt thee. Pay this debt, this debt of reſtitution, and pay it quickly; for nothing periſhes, nothing decays an estate more, nothing consumes, nothing enfeebleſ a ſoule more, then to let a great debt run on long.

Eleemosyna

But if they be poore of Gods making, and not of thine (as they are to thee, if thou know not why, or how they are become poore) (for though God have inflicted poverty upon them for their ſins, that is a ſecret between God and them, that which God hath revealed ⁵⁷⁰ to thee, is their poverty, and not their ſins) then thou owest them a debt of almes, though not reſtitution: though thou have nothing in thy hands which was theirs, yet thou hast ſomething which ſhould be theirs; nothing perchance which thou hast taken from them, but ſomething certainly which thou hast received from God for them; and in that ſense *S. Bernard* ſayes truly, in the behalfe, and in the person of the poore, to wastfull men, *Noſtrum eſt quod effunditis*,

you are prodigall, there is one fault; but then you are prodigall of that which is not your own, but ours, and that is a greater; and then we whose goods you wast, are poore and miserable, and that is the
 580 greatest fault of all. *Nobis crudeliter subtrahitur, quod inaniter expenditis*, whatsoever you spend wantonly and vainly upon your selves, or sinfully upon others, is cruelly and bloodily drawen out of our bowels, and worse then so, sacrilegiously too, because we are the Temples of the Holy Ghost: If not properly taken away because we had it not, yet unjustly and cruelly with-held and kept away, because we should have it, say those poore soules to these wastfull prodigalls in that devout and perswasive mouth of S. *Bernard*. Here is a double misery, of which you, you that are prodigals are authors, *Vos vanitando peritis, nos spoliando perimitis*, In this prodigality you waste
 590 your selves, even your soules, and you rob us; you leave us naked in the cold, and you cast your selves into dark and tormenting fire. So that whether they be poore of Gods making, or poore of your making, *Reddite debitum*, pay the debt you owe, to the one by almes, to the other by restitution.

We descend now to our last creditors, our selves. It is a good rule of S. *Bernard*, *Qui ad sui mensuram proximum diligit, seipsum diligere norit*, since we are commanded to love our neighbour, as our selves, we must be sure to love our selves so as we should doe, or else we proceed by a wrong, and a crooked rule. So to give some guesse
 600 of our ability, and of our willingnesse, to pay our debts to God, and our debts to man, we must consider what we owe, and how we pay our selves. *Thou art a debtor* (as S. *Paul* sayes of himselfe) *to the Greek, and to the Barbarian, to the wise, and to the unwise*; And thou thy selfe art amongst some of these; wise and learned in the best art, though thou know not a letter, rich and mighty in the best treasure, though thou possesse not a penny, if thou pay these debts duly, (for as God tels us we may buy without money, so we may pay debts without money) and then ignorant and unlettered, in the midst of thy library and languages, and poore and beggarly in the midst of
 610 thy coffers and rentals, if thou call not thy selfe to this account, for his debt to himselfe alone, is debt enough to oppresse any man. *Solus mihi servandus*, sayes S. *Bernard*, I am Bishop over no man but my selfe, I have no larger Diocesse then mine own person, no mans debts

3 Part
Nos

Rom. 1.14

to pay but mine own, nor any man to pay them to, but to my selfe, *Solus tamen mihi sum scandalo*, yet I am scandalized in my selfe, I have brought an ill name upon my selfe, to be an ill pay master to mine own soul; *Solus tædio*, though I have no creditor to disappoint but my selfe, yet I am growen a tedious, and dilatory man to my self, I have taken longer and longer daies with my selfe, and still put off
⁶²⁰ my repentances, from sicknesse to sicknesse, *Solus tædio; solus oneri*, I am a burden to my selfe, I have over-burdened my self even with collateral security, with entring into new bands, with new vows upon my repentances, new contracts, new stipulations, new protestations to my God, which I have forfeited also, *solus oneri*; and *solus periculo*, I am become a dangerous man to my selfe, I dare not trust my self alone, though I abstain from my former sinfull company, yet custome of sinne hath made me a tentation to my self, and I sin where no temptation offers it self: *Solus mihi servandus*, I have no body to save, sayes S. *Bernard* in his Cloister, but my self, and I can-
⁶³⁰ not doe that, but I damne my self alone.

Begin therefore to pay these debts to thy selfe betimes; for, as we told you at beginning, some you are to tender at noone, some at evening. Even at your noon and warmest Sun-shine of prosperity, you owe your selves a true information, how you came by that prosperity, who gave it you, and why he gave it. Let not the Olive boast of her own fatnesse, nor the Fig-tree of her own sweetnesse, nor the Vine of her own fruitfulness, for we were all but Brambles. Let no man say, I could not misse a fortune, for I have studied all my youth; How many men have studied more nights, then he hath done hours,
⁶⁴⁰ and studied themselves blinde, and mad in the Mathematiques, and yet wither in beggery in a corner? Let him never adde, But I studied in a usefull and gainfull profession; How many have done so too, and yet never compassed the favour of a Judge? And how many that have had all that, have struck upon a Rock, even at full Sea, and perished there? In their Grandfathers and great Grandfathers, in a few generations, whosoever is greatest now, must say, With this staffe came I over Jordan; nay, without any staffe came I over Jordan, for he had in them at first, a beginning of nothing. As for spiritual happiness, *Non volentis, nec currentis, sed miserentis Dei*, It is not in
⁶⁵⁰ him that would run, nor in him that doth, but only in God that

Judg.
9.9-15

[Gen. 32.10]

[Rom. 9.16]

[Psa.
127.1-2]

prospers his course; so for the things of this world, it is in vain to rise early, and to lie down late, and to eat the bread of sorrow, for, *nisi Dominus ædificaverit, nisi Dominus custodierit*, except the Lord build the house, they labour in vain; except the Lord keep the City, the watchman waketh but in vain. Come not therefore to say, I studied more then my fellows, and therefore am richer then my fellows, but say, God that gave me my contemplations at first, gave me my practice after, and hath given me his blessing now. How many men have worn their braines upon other studies, and spent their

⁶⁶⁰ time and themselves therein? how many men have studied more in thine own profession, and yet, for diffidence in themselves, or some disfavour from others, have not had thy practice? How many men have been equall to thee, in study, in practice, and in getting too, and yet upon a wanton confidence, that that world would alwayes last, or upon the burden of many children, and an expensive breeding of them, or for other reasons, which God hath found in his wayes, are left upon the sand at last, in a low fortune? whilst the Sun shines upon thee in all these, pay thy selfe the debt, of knowing whence, and why all this came, for else thou canst not know how much, or how

⁶⁷⁰ little is thine, nor thou canst not come to restore that which is none of thine, but unjustly wrung from others. Pay therefore this debt of surveying thine estate, and then pay thy selfe thine owne too, by a chearfull enjoying and using that which is truly thine, and doe not deny nor defraud thy selfe of those things which are thine, and so become a wretched debtor, to thy back, or to thy belly, as though the world had not enough, or God knew not what were enough for thee.

Pay this debt to thy selfe of looking into thy debts, of surveying, of severing, of serving thy selfe with that which is truly thine, at thy noone, in the best of thy fortune, and in the strength of thine under-
⁶⁸⁰ standing; that when thou commest to pay thy other, thy last debt to thy self, which is, to open a doore out of this world, by the dissolution of body and soule, thou have not all thy money to tell over when the Sun is ready to set, all the account to make of every bag of money, and of every quillet of land, whose it is, and whether it be his that looks for it from thee, or his from whom it was taken by thee; whether it belong to thine heire, that weepes joyfull tears behinde the curtain, or belong to him that weeps true, and bloody teares, in the hole in a

prison. There will come a time, when that land that thou leavest shall not be his land, when it shall be no bodies land, when it shall be no ⁶⁹⁰ land, for the earth must perish; there will be a time when there shall be no Mannors, no Acres in the world, and yet there shall lie Mannors and Acres upon thy soul, when land shall be no more, when time shall be no more, and thou passe away, not into the land of the living, but of eternall death. Then the Accuser will be ready to interline the schedules of thy debts, thy sins, and insert false debts, by abusing an over-tendernes, which may be in thy conscience then, in thy last sicknesse, in thy death-bed: Then he will be ready to adde a cyphar more to thy debts, and make hundreds thousands, and abuse the faintnesse which may be in thy conscience then, in thy last sicknesse, ⁷⁰⁰ in thy death-bed. Then he will be ready to abuse even thy confidence in God, and bring thee to think, that as a Pirate ventures boldly home, though all that he hath be stoln, if he be rich enough to bribe for a pardon; so, howsoever those families perish whom thou hast ruined, and those whole parishes whom thou hast depopulated, thy soule may goe confidently home too, if thou bribe God then, with an Hospitall or a Fellowship in a Colledge, or a Legacy to any pious use in appearance, and in the eye of the world.

Luk. 16.2

Pay thy selfe therefore this debt, that is, make up thine account all the way, for when that voyce comes, *Redde rationem, Give up an* ⁷¹⁰ *account of thy Stewardship*, it is not, goe home now, and make up thy account perfect; but now, now deliver up thine account; if it be perfect, it is well, if it be not, here is no longer day, for *Iam non poteris villicare, now thou canst be no longer Steward*, now thou hast no more to doe with thy selfe. Here the voyce is not in the word to *Ezekiah, Dispone domui, put thy house in order, for, morieris, thou shalt die*; For, there God had a gracious purpose, to give him a longer terme, but here it is, *foole, this night, repetunt, not they shall, but they doe fetch away thy soule*, and then what is become of that To morrow, which thou hadst imagined and promised to thy selfe, for the painment ⁷²⁰ of this debt, of this repentance? Be just therefore to thy selfe all the way, pay thy selfe, and take acquittances of thy selfe, all the way, which is onely done under the seale, and in the testimony of a rectified conscience. Let thine owne conscience be thine evidence, and thy Rolls, and not the opinion of others: *Non tutum planè, sed stultum,*

Esay 38.1

[Luke 12.20]

ibi thesaurum tuum recondere, ubi non vales resumere, cum volueris, sayes Saint Bernard. It is not providently done, to lock thy treasure in a chest, of which thou hast no key, and to which thou hast no accessse: *Si ponis in os meum, jam non in tua, sed mea potestate est, ut te laudare, vel tibi derogare possim:* If thou build thy reputation ⁷³⁰ upon my report, it is now in my power, not in thine, whether thou shalt be good or bad, honourable or infamous: *Sanum vas, & inconcussum, conscientia, a good conscience is a sweet vessell, and a strong; Quicquid in ea reposueris, servabit vivo, & defuncto restituet:* Whatsoever thou laiest up in that, shall serve thee all thy life, and after; and that shall be thine acquittance, and discharge, at thy last paiment, *in manus tuas, when thou returnest thy spirit, into his hands that gave it:* And then *reddidisti debita omnibus, thou shalt have rendred to all their dues, when thou hast given the King, Honour; the poore, almes; thy selfe, peace; and God thy soule.*

[Luke
23.46]

Number 13.

*Preached at White-hall, the first
Friday in Lent. [1622/3]*

JOHN 11.35. IESUS WEPT.

August.

I AM now but upon the Compassion of Christ. There is much difference betweene his Compassion and his Passion, as much as between the men that are to handle them here. But *Lacryma passionis Christi est vicaria*: A great personage may speake of his Passion, of his blood; My vicarage is to speake of his Compassion and his teares. Let me chafe the wax, and melt your soules in a bath of his Teares now, Let him set to the great Seale of his effectuall passion, in his blood, then. It is a Common place I know to speake of teares: I would you knew as well, it were a common practise, to shed them.

¹⁰ Though it be not so, yet bring S. Bernards patience, *Libenter audiam, qui non sibi plausum, sed mihi planctum moveat*; be willing to heare him, that seeks not your acclamation to himselfe, but your humiliation to his and your God; not to make you praise with them that praise, but to make you weepe with them that weepe, *And Iesus wept*.

The Masorites (the Masorites are the Critiques upon the Hebrew Bible, the Old Testament) cannot tell us, who divided the Chapters of the Old Testament into verses; Neither can any other tell us, who did it in the New Testament. Whoever did it seemes to have stopped ²⁰ in an amazement in this Text, and by making an intire verse of these two words, *Iesus wept*, and no more, to intimate that there needs no more for the exalting of our devotion to a competent heighth, then to consider, how, and where, and when, and why *Iesus wept*. There

is not a shorter verse in the Bible, nor a larger Text. There is another as short; *Semper gaudete, Rejoyce evermore*, and of that holy Joy, I may have leave to speake here hereafter, more seasonably, in a more Festivall time, by my ordinary service. This is the season of generall Compunction, of generall Mortification, and no man priviledged, for *Iesus wept*.

[1] Thes.
5.16

³⁰ In that Letter which *Lentulus* is said to have written to the Senate of Rome, in which he gives some Characters of Christ, he saies, That Christ was never seene to laugh, but to weepe often. Now in what number he limits his often, or upon what testimony he grounds his number, we know not. We take knowledge that he wept thrice. Hee wept here, when he mourned with them that mourned for *Lazarus*; He wept againe, when he drew neare to Jerusalem, and looked upon that City; And he wept a third time in his Passion. There is but one Euangelist, but this, S. *John*, that tells us of these first teares, the rest say nothing of them; There is but one Euangelist, S. *Luke*, that tells

Divisio

⁴⁰ us of his second teares, the rest speake not of those; There is no Euangelist, but there is an Apostle that tells us of his third teares, S. *Paul* saies, *That in the daies of his flesh, he offered up prayers with strong cries, and teares*; And those teares, Expositoꝝ of all sides reffere to his Passion, though some to his Agony in the Garden, some to his Passion on the Crosse; and these in my opinion most fitly; because those words of S. *Paul* belong to the declaration of the Priesthood, and of the Sacrifice of Christ; and for that function of his, the Crosse was the Altar; and therefore to the Crosse we fixe those third teares. The first were Humane teares, the second were Propheticall, the ⁵⁰ third were Pontificall, appertaining to the Sacrifice. The first were shed in a Condolency of a humane and naturall calamity fallen upon one family; *Lazarus* was dead: The second were shed in Contemplation of future calamities upon a Nation; Jerusalem was to be destroyed: The third, in Contemplation of sin, and the everlasting punishments due to sin, and to such sinners, as would make no benefit of that Sacrifice, which he offered in offering himselfe. His friend was dead, and then Jesus wept; He justified naturall affections and such offices of piety: Jerusalem was to be destroyed, and then Jesus wept; He commiserated publique and nationall calamities, ⁶⁰ though a private person: His very giving of himselfe for sin, was to

Luke 19.41

Heb. 5.7

become to a great many ineffectuall; and then Jesus wept; He declared how indelible the naturall staine of sin is, that not such sweat as his, such teares, such blood as his could absolutely wash it out of mans nature. The teares of the text are as a Spring, a Well, belonging to one houshold, the Sisters of *Lazarus*: The teares over Jerusalem, are as a River belonging to a whole Country: The teares upon the Crosse, are as the Sea belonging to all the world; and though literally there fall no more into our text, then the Spring, yet because the Spring flowes into the River, and the River into the Sea, and that

⁷⁰ wheresoever we find that Jesus wept, we find our Text, (for our Text is but that, *Iesus wept*) therefore by the leave and light of his blessed Spirit, we shall looke upon those lovely, those heavenly eyes, through this glasse of his owne teares, in all these three lines, as he wept here over *Lazarus*, as he wept there over Jerusalem, as he wept upon the Crosse over all us. For so often Jesus wept.

1 Part
Humanitus

Mat. 9.25

Luke 7.15

First then, Jesus wept *Humanitus*, he tooke a necessary occasion to shew that he was true Man. He was now in hand with the greatest Miracle that ever he did, the raising of *Lazarus*, so long dead. Could we but do so in our spirituall raising, what a blessed harvest were ⁸⁰ that? What a comfort to finde one man here to day, raised from his spirituall death, this day twelve-month? Christ did it every yeare, and every yeare he improved his Miracle. In the first yeare, he raised the Governours Daughter: she was newly dead, and as yet in the house. In the beginning of sin, and whilst in the house, in the house of God, in the Church, in a glad obedience to Gods Ordinances and Institutions there, for the reparation and resuscitation of dead soules, the worke is not so hard. In his second yeare, Christ raised the Widows Son; and him he found without, ready to be buried. In a man growne cold and stiffe in sin, impenetrable, inflexible by denouncing the

⁹⁰ Judgements of God, almost buried in a stupidity, and insensiblenesse of his being dead, there is more difficultie. But in his third yeare, Christ raised this *Lazarus*; he had been long dead, and buried, and in probability, putrified after foure daies.

This Miracle Christ meant to make a pregnant proofe of the Resurrection, which was his principall intention therein. For, the greatest arguments against the Resurrection, being for the most part of this kinde, when a Fish eates a man, and another man eates that fish, or

when one man eates another, how shall both these men rise again? When a body is resolv'd in the grave to the first principles, or is passed
¹⁰⁰ into other substances, the case is somewhat neere the same; and therefore Christ would worke upon a body neare that state, a body putrified. And truly, in our spirituall raising of the dead, to raise a sinner putrified in his owne earth, resolv'd in his owne dung, especially that hath passed many transformations, from shape to shape, from sin to sin, (he hath beene a Salamander and lived in the fire, in the fire successively, in the fire of lust in his youth, and in his age in the fire of Ambition; and then he hath beene a Serpent, a Fish, and lived in the waters, in the water successively, in the troubled water of sedition in his youth, and in his age in the cold waters of indevotion) how shall
¹¹⁰ we raise this Salamander and this Serpent, when this Serpent and this Salamander is all one person, and must have contrary musique to charme him, contrary physick to cure him? To raise a man resolv'd into diverse substances, scattered into diverse formes of severall sinnes, is the greatest worke. And therefore this Miracle (which implied that) S. Basil calls *Miraculum in Miraculo*, a pregnant, a double Miracle. For here is *Mortuus redivivus*, A dead man lives; that had been done before; but *Alligatus ambulat*, saies Basil; he that is fettered, and manacled, and tyed with many difficulties, he walks.

And therfore as this Miracle raised him most estimation, so (for
¹²⁰ they ever accompany one another) it raised him most envy: Envy that extended beyond him, to *Lazarus* himselfe, who had done nothing; and yet, *The chiefe Priests consulted how they might put Lazarus to death, because by reason of him, many beleeved in Iesus*. A disease, a distemper, a danger which no time shall ever be free from, that wheresoever there is a coldnesse, a dis-affection to Gods Cause, those who are any way occasionally instruments of Gods glory, shall finde cold affections. If they killed *Lazarus*, had not Christ done enough to let them see that he could raise him againe? for *Cæca sævitia, si aliud videtur mortuus, aliud occisus*; It was a blinde malice, if they thought,
¹³⁰ that Christ could raise a man naturally dead, and could not if he were violently killed. This then being his greatest Miracle, preparing the hardest Article of the Creed, the Resurrection of the body, as the Miracle it selfe declared sufficiently his Divinity, that nature, so in this declaration that he was God, he would declare that he was man too, and therefore *Iesus wept*.

John 12.10

August.

Non
inordinate
Bernard
Iob 10.4

He wept as man doth weepe, and he wept as a man may weepe; for these teares were *Testes naturæ, non Indices diffidentiæ*, They declared him to be true man, but no distrustfull, no inordinate man. In *Iob* there is a question ask'd of God, *Hast thou eyes of flesh, and*

¹⁴⁰ *doest thou see, as man sees?* Let this question be directed to God manifested in Christ, and Christ will weepe out an answer to that question, I have eyes of flesh, and I do weep as man weepes. Not as sinfull man, not as a man, that had let fall his bridle, by which he should turne his horse: Not as a man that were cast from the rudder, by which he should steere his Ship: Not as a man that had lost his interest and power in his affections, and passions; Christ wept not so. Christ might goe farther that way, then any other man: Christ might ungirt himselfe, and give more scope and liberty to his passions, then any other man: both because he had no Originall sin within, to drive ¹⁵⁰ him, no inordinate love without to draw him, when his affections were moved; which all other men have.

Numb.
11.18

God sayes to the Jews, *That they had weept in his eares*; God had heard them weep: but for what, and how? *they weept for flesh*. There was a tincture, there was a deep dye of murmuring in their tears. Christ goes as far in the passion, in his agony, and he comes to a

[Mat.
26.38, 39]

passionate deprecation, in his *Tristis anima*, and in the *Si possibile*, and in the *Transeat calix*. But as all these passions were sanctified in the roote, from which no bitter leafe, no crooked twig could spring, so they were instantly washed with his *Veruntamen*, a present and a ¹⁶⁰ full submitting of all to Gods pleasure, *Yet not my will O Father, but thine be done*. It will not be safe for any man to come so neare an

[Exod.
32.32]

excesse of passions, as he may finde some good men in the Scriptures to have done: That because he heares *Moses* say to God, *Dele me, Blot my name out of the book of life*, Therefore he may say, God damne me, or I renounce God. It is not safe for a man to expose himself to a temptation, because he hath seen another passe through it. Every man may know his own Byas, and to what sin that diverts him: The beauty of the person, the opportunity of the place, the

[Gen.
39.7-12]

importunity of the party, being his Mistresse, could not shake *Iosephs* ¹⁷⁰ constancy. There is one such example, of one that resisted a strong temptation: But then there are in one place, two men together, that sinned upon their own bodies, *Her* and *Onan*, then when no tenta-

tion was offered, nay when a remedy against temptation was ministred to them.

Gen. 46.12

Some man may be chaster in the Stews, then another in the Church; and some man will sin more in his dreams, then another in his discourse. Every man must know how much water his own vessell draws, and not to think to saile over, wheresoever he hath seen another (he knows not with how much labour) shove over: No nor
¹⁸⁰ to adventure so far, as he may have reason to be confident in his own strength: For though he may be safe in himself, yet he may sin in another, if by his indiscrete, and improvident example, another be scandalized. Christ was alwayes safe; *He was led of the Spirit: of what spirit? his own Spirit: Led willingly into the wildernes, to be tempted of the devill.* No other man might do that; but he who was able to say to the Sun, *Siste sol,* was able to say to Satan, *Siste Lucifer.* Christ in another place gave such scope to his affections, and to others interpretations of his actions, that his friends and kinsfolks thought him mad, besides himself: But all this while, Christ had his
¹⁹⁰ own actions, and passions, and their interpretations in his own power: he could do what he would. Here in our Text, Jesus was troubled, and he groaned; and vehemently, and often, his affections were stirred: but as in a clean glasse, if water be stirred and troubled, though it may conceive a little light froth, yet it contracts no foulenesse in that clean glasse, the affections of Christ were moved, but so: in that holy vessell they would contract no foulenesse, no declination towards inordinatenesse. But then every Christian is not a Christ; and therefore as he that would fast forty dayes, as Christ did, might starve; and he that would whip Merchants out of the Temple,
²⁰⁰ as Christ did, might be knockt downe in the Temple; So he [that] knowing his owne inclinations, or but the generall ill inclination of all mankind, as he is infected with Originall sin, should converse so much with publicans and sinners, might participate of their sins. The rule is, we must avoid inordinatenesse of affections; but when we come to examples of that rule, our selves well understood by our selves, must be our owne examples; for it is not alwaies good to go too far, as some good men have gone before.

Now though Christ were farre from both, yet he came nearer to an excesse of passion, then to an Indolencie, to a senselesnesse, to a priva-

Mat. 4.1

[Jos. 10.12]

*Non
Apathes*

²¹⁰ tion of naturall affections. Inordinatenesse of affections may sometimes make some men like some beasts; but indolencie, absence, emptinesse, privation of affections, makes any man at all times, like stones, like dirt. *In novissimis*, saith S. Peter, In the last, that is, in the worst dayes, in the dregs, and lees, and tartar of sin, then shall come men, lovers of themselves; and that is ill enough in man; for that is an affection peculiar to God, to love himselfe. *Non speciale vitium, sed radix omnium vitiorum*, saies the Schoole in the mouth of Aquinas: selfe-love cannot be called a distinct sin, but the roote of all sins. It is true that *Iustin Martyr* saies, *Philosophandi finis est Deo assimilari*,

²²⁰ The end of Christian Philosophy is to be wise like God; but not in this, to love our selves; for the greatest sin that ever was, and that upon which even the blood of Christ Jesus hath not wrought, the sin of Angels was that, *Similis ero Altissimo*, to be like God. To love our selves, to be satisfied in our selves, to finde an omni-sufficiency in our selves, is an intrusion, an usurpation upon God: And even God himselfe who had that omni-sufficiency in himselfe, conceived a conveniency for his glory, to draw a Circumference about that Center, Creatures about himselfe, and to shed forth lines of love upon all them, and not to love himselfe alone. Selfe-love in man sinks deep:

²³⁰ but yet you see, the Apostle in his order, casts the other sin lower, that is, into a worse place, *To be without naturall affections*.

S. Augustine extends these naturall affections, to Religious affections, because they are naturall to a supernaturall man, to a regenerate man, who naturally loves those, that are of the houshold of the faithfull, that professe the same truth of Religion: and not to be affected with their distresses, when Religion it selfe is distressed in them, is impietie. He extends these affections to Morall affections; the love of Eminent and Heroicall vertues in any man: we ought to be affected with the fall of such men. And he extends them to civill affections, ²⁴⁰ the love of friends; not to be moved in their behalfe, is argument enough that we doe not much love them.

For our case in the Text, These men whom Jesus found weeping, and wept with them, were none of his kindred: They were Neighbours, and Christ had had a conversation, and contracted a friendship in that Family; *He loved Martha, and her sister, and Lazarus*, saies the Storie: and he would let the world see that he loved them: for so the

[2 Pet. 3:3]

[Isa. 14:14]

[2 Tim. 3:3]

V. 5

Jewes argued that saw him weepe, *Behold how he loved them*; without outward declarations, who can conclude an inward love? to assure that, *Iesus wept*.

V. 36

²⁵⁰ To an inordinatenesse of affections it never came; to a naturall tendernessee it did; and so far as to teares; and then who needs be ashamed of weeping? *Look away far from me, for I will weep bitterly*, sayes Hierusalem in *Esay*. But *look upon me*, sayes Christ in the Lamentations, *Behold and see if ever there were any sorrow, any teares like mine*: Not like his in value, but in the roote as they proceeded from naturall affection, they were teares of imitation, and we may, we must weepe teares like his teares. They scourged him, they crowned him, they nailed him, they pierced him, and then blood came; but he shed teares voluntarily, and without violence: The blood

Lacrymæ

[Isa. 22.4]

[Lam. 1.12]

²⁶⁰ came from their ill, but the teares from his owne good nature: The blood was drawne, the teares were given. We call it a childish thing to weepe, and a womanish; and perchance we meane worse in that then in the childish; for therein we may meane falsehood to be mingled with weaknesse. Christ made it an argument of his being man, to weepe, for though the lineaments of mans bodie, eyes and eares, hands and feet, be ascribed to God in the Scriptures, though the affections of mans mind be ascribed to him, (even sorrow, nay Repentance it selfe, is attributed to God) I doe not remember that ever God is said to have wept: It is for man. And when God shall come

[Rev. 7.17]

²⁷⁰ to that last Act in the glorifying of Man, when he promises, *to wipe all teares from his eyes*, what shall God have to doe with that eye that never wept?

He wept out of a naturall tendernessee in generall; and he wept now out of a particular occasion. What was that? *Quia mortuus*, because *Lazarus* was dead. We stride over many steps at once; waive many such considerable circumstances as these; *Lazarus* his friend was dead, therefore he wept, *Lazarus*, the staffe and sustentation of that family was dead, he upon whom his Sisters relied, was dead, therefore he wept. But I stop onely upon this one step, *Quia mortuus*, that he was dead.

²⁸⁰ Now a good man is not the worse for dying, that is true and capable of a good sense, because he is established in a better world: but yet when he is gone out of this world he is none of us, he is no longer a man. The stronger opinion in the Schoole, is, That Christ himselfe,

when he lay dead in the grave, was no man. Though the Godhead never departed from the Carcasse, (there was no divorce of that Hypostaticall union) yet because the Humane soule was departed from it, he was no man. *Hugo de S. Victor*, who thinks otherwise, that Christ was a man then, thinkes so upon a weak ground: He thinkes, that because the soule is the form of man, the soul is man; and that therefore the soul remaining, the man remaines. But it is not the soule, but the union of the soul, that makes the man. The Master of the Sentences, *Peter Lombard*, that thinks so too, that Christ was then a man, thinkes so upon as weak a ground: He thinkes that it is enough to constitute a man, that there be a soul and body, though that soul and body be not united; but still it is the union that makes the man: And therefore when he is disunited, dead, he is none of us, he is no man; and therefore we weep how well soever he be. *Abraham* was loath to let go his wife, though the King had her: A man hath a naturall lothnesse to let go his friend, though God take him to him.

[Gen.
12.14-20]

²⁹⁰ *S. Augustine* sayes, that he knew well enough, that his mother was in heaven; and *S. Ambrose*, that he knew wel enough that his master *Theodosius* the Emperor was in heaven, but because they saw not in what state they were, they thought that something might be asked at Gods hands in their behalf; and so out of a humane and pious officiousnesse, in a devotion perchance indigested, uncocted, and retaining yet some crudities, some irresolutions, they strayed into prayers for them after they were dead. *Lazarus* his sisters made no doubt of their brothers salvation; they beleaved his soul to be in a good estate: And for his body, they told Christ, Lord we know that he shall rise at the last day: And yet they wept.

Here, in this world, we who stay, lack those who are gone out of it: we know they shall never come to us; and when we shall go to them, whether we shall know them or no, we dispute. They who think that it conduces to the perfection of happinesse in heaven, that we should know one another, think piously if they think we shall. For, as for the maintenance of publique peace, States, and Churches, may think diversly in points of Religion, that are not fundamentall, and yet both be true and Orthodoxall Churches; so for the exaltation of private devotion in points that are not fundamentall, divers men may think diversly, and both be equally good Christians. Whether we shall

³²⁰

know them there, or no, is problematicall and equall; that we shall not till then, is dogmaticall and certain: Therefore we weep. I know there are Philosophers that will not let us weep, nor lament the death of any: And I know that in the Scriptures there are rules, and that there are instructions conveyed in that example, that *David* left mourning as soon as the childe was dead; And I know that there are Authors of a middle nature, above the Philosophers, and below the Scriptures, the Apocryphall books, and I know it is said there, *Comfort thy selfe, for thou shalt do him no good that is dead, Et te ipsum pessimabis* (as the vulgat reads it) thou shalt make thy self worse and worse, in the worst degree. But yet all this is but of inordinate lamentation; for in the same place, the same Wise man sayes, My Son, let thy tears fall down over the dead; weep bitterly and make great moane, as he is worthy. When our Saviour Christ had uttered his *consummatum est*, all was finished, and their rage could do him no more harm, when he had uttered his *In manus tuas*, he had delivered and God had received his soul, yet how did the whole frame of nature mourn in Eclipses, and tremble in earth-quakes, and dissolve and shed in pieces in the opening of the Temple, *Quia mortuus*, because he was dead.

Truly, to see the hand of a great and mighty Monarch, that hand that hath governed the civill sword, the sword of Justice at home, and drawn and sheathed the forraigne sword, the sword of war abroad, to see that hand lie dead, and not be able to nip or fillip away one of his own wormes (and then *Quis homo*, what man, though he be one of those men, of whom God hath said, *Ye are gods*, yet *Quis homo, what man is there that lives, and shall not see death?*) To see the brain of a great and religious Counsellor (and God blesse all from making, all from calling any great that is not religious) to see that brain that produced means to becalme gusts at Councell tables, stormes in Parliaments, tempests in popular commotions, to see that brain produce nothing but swarmes of wormes and no Proclamation to disperse them; To see a reverend Prelate that hath resisted Heretiques and Schismatiques all his life, fall like one of them by death, and perchance be called one of them when he is dead; To re-collect all, to see great men made no men, to be sure that they shall never come to us, not to be sure, that we shall know them when we come to them, to

[2 Sam.
12.19-20]

Eccl.
38.21, 23

[Joh. 19.30]
[Lu. 23.46]

[Psa. 82.6]
[Psa. 89.48]

see the Lieutenants and Images of God, Kings, the sinews of the State, religious Counsellors, the spirit of the Church, zealous Prelates, And
³⁶⁰ then to see vulgar, ignorant, wicked, and facinorous men thrown all by one hand of death, into one Cart, into one common Tide-boate, one Hospitall, one Almeshouse, one Prison, the grave, in whose dust no man can say, This is the King, this is the Slave, this is the Bishop, this is the Heretique, this is the Counsellor, this is the Foole, even this miserable equality of so unequall persons, by so foule a hand, is the subject of this lamentation, even *Quia mortuus*, because *Lazarus* was dead, *Iesus wept*.

*Quia non
adhibita
media*

He wept even in that respect, *Quia mortuus*, and he wept in this respect too, *Quia non adhibita media*, because those means which in
³⁷⁰ appearance might have saved his life, by his default were not used, for when he came to the house, one sister, *Martha* sayes to him, *Lord if thou hadst been here, my brother had not dyed*; and then the other sister, *Mary* sayes so too, *Lord if thou hadst been here, my brother had not dyed*: They all cry out, that he who only, only by comming, might have saved his life, would not come. Our Saviour knew in himself that he abstained to better purpose, and to the farther glory of God: for when he heard of his death, he said to his Disciples, *I am glad for your sakes that I was not there*. Christ had certain reserved purposes which conduced to a better establishing of their faith, and
³⁸⁰ to a better advancing of Gods Kingdome, the working of that miracle. But yet because others were able to say to him, it was in you to have saved him, and he did not, even this *Quia non adhibita media*, affected him; and *Iesus wept*.

*Etsi quat-
riduanus*

He wept, *Etsi quatriduanus*, though they said unto him, *He hath been foure dayes dead, and stinkes*. Christ doth not say, there is no such matter, he doth not stink; but though he do, my friend shall not lack my help. Good friends, usefull friends, though they may commit some errors, and though for some misbehaviours they may stink in our nostrils, must not be derelicted, abandoned to themselves.
³⁹⁰ Many a son, many a good heire, findes an ill ayre from his Father; his Fathers life stinkes in the nostrils of all the world, and he heares every where exclamations upon his Fathers usury, and extortion, and oppression: yet it becomes him by a better life, and by all other means to rectifie and redeem his Fathers fame. *Quatriduanus est*, is no plea

for my negligence in my family; to say, My son, or my servant hath proceeded so far in ill courses, that now it is to no purpose to go about to reform him, because *Quatriduanus est. Quatriduanus est.* is no plea in my pastorall charge, to say that seducers, and practisers, and persuaders, and sollicitors for superstition, enter so boldly into every
 400 family, that now it is to no purpose to preach religious wariness, religious discretion, religious constancy. *Quatriduanus est.* is no plea for my Usury, for my Simony; to say, I do but as all the world doth, and hath used to do a long time. To preach there where reprehension of growing sin is acceptable, is to preach in season; where it is not acceptable, it is out of season; but yet we must preach in season, and out of season too. And when men are so refractory, as that they forbear to heare, or heare and resist our preaching, we must pray; and where they despise or forbid our praying, we must lament them, we must weep: *Quatriduanus erat, Lazarus was far spent, yet Jesus wept.*

410 He wept, *Etsi suscitandus;* Though he knew that *Lazarus* were to be restored, and raised to life again: for as he meant to declare a great good will to him at last, so he would utter some by the way; he would do a great miracle for him, as he was a mighty God; but he would weep for him too, as he was a good natured man. Truly it is no very charitable disposition, if I give all at my death to others, if I keep all all my life to my self. For how many families have we seen shaked, ruined by this distemper, that though the Father mean to alien nothing of the inheritance from the Son at his death, yet because he affords him not a competent maintenance in his life, he
 420 submits his Son to an encumbering of his fame with ignominious shiftings, and an encumbering of the estate with irrecoverable debts. I may mean to feast a man plentifully at Christmas, and that man may starve before in Lent: Great persons may think it in their power to give life to persons and actions by their benefits, when they will, and before that will be up and ready, both may become incapable of their benefits. Jesus would not give this family, whom hee pretended to love, occasion of jealousie, of suspition, that he neglected them; and therefore though he came not presently to that great worke, which hee intended at last, yet hee left them not comfortlesse by the way,

*Etsi sus-
citandus*

430 *Iesus wept.*

And so (that we may reserve some minutes for the rest) we end

this part, applying to every man that blessed exclamation of S. *Ambrose*, *Ad monumentum hoc digneris accedere Domine Iesu*, Lord Jesus be pleased to come to this grave, to weep over this dead *Lazarus*, this soule in this body: And though I come not to a present rising, a present deliverance from the power of all sin, yet if I can feele the dew of thy teares upon me, if I can discern the eye of thy compassion bent towards me, I have comfort all the way, and that comfort will flow into an infallibility in the end.

⁴⁴⁰ And be this the end of this part, to which we are come by these steps. *Iesus wept*, That as he shewed himself to be God, he might appeare to be man too: he wept not inordinately; but he came nearer excesse then indolency: He wept because he was dead; and because all means for life had not been used; he wept, though he were far spent; and he wept, though he meant to raise him again.

2 Part

We passe now from his humane to his propheticall teares, from Jesus weeping in contemplation of a naturall calamity fallen upon one family, *Lazarus* was dead, to his weeping in contemplation of a Nationall calamity foreseen upon a whole people; Jerusalem was to be destroyed. His former teares had some of the spirit of prophecy in them; for therefore sayes *Epiphanius*, Christ wept there, because he foresaw how little use the Jews would make of that miracle, his humane teares were propheticall, and his propheticall teares are humane too, they rise from good affections to that people. And therefore the same Author sayes, That because they thought it an uncomely thing for Christ to weep for any temporall thing, some men have expunged and removed that verse out of S. *Lukes* Gospell, That Jesus when he saw that City, wept: But he is willing to be proposed, and to stand for ever for an example of weeping in contemplation of publick calamities; Therefore *Iesus wept*.

Inter acclamations
Luke 19.38

⁴⁶⁰ He wept first, *Inter acclamations*, in the midst of the congratulations and acclamations of the people, then when the whole multitude of his Disciples cried out, *Vivat Rex, Blessed be the King, that comes in the name of the Lord*, Jesus wept. When *Herod* tooke to himselfe the name of the Lord, when he admitted that grosse flattery, *It is a God and not a man that speaks*, It was no wonder that present occasion of lamentation fell upon him. But in the best times, and under the best Princes, (first, such is the naturall mutability of all worldly

[Lu. 19.41]

Inter acclamations
Luke 19.38

[Acts 12.22]

things; and then (and that especially) such is the infinitenesse, and
 470 enormousnesse of our rebellious sin) then is ever just occasion of
 feare of worse, and so of teares. Every man is but a spunge, and but
 a spunge filled with teares: and whether you lay your right hand or
 your left upon a full spunge, it will weep. Whether God lay his left
 hand, temporall calamities, or his right hand, temporall prosperity;
 even that temporall prosperity comes alwaies accompanied with so
 much anxiety in our selves, so much uncertainty in it selfe, and so
 much envy in others, as that that man who abounds most, that spunge
 shall weep.

Jesus wept, *Inter acclamationes*, when all went well enough with
 480 him; to shew the slipperinesse of worldly happinesse, and then he
 wept *Inter judicia*; then when himselfe was in the act of denouncing
 judgements upon them, Jesus wept, To shew with how ill a will he
 inflicted those judgements, and that themselves, and not he, had
 drawne those judgements upon them. How often doe the Prophets
 repeat that phrase, *Onus visionis*, O the burden of the judgements
 that I have seene upon this, and this people! It was a burden that
 pressed teares from the Prophet *Esay*, *I will water thee with my
 teares, O Heshbon*: when he must pronounce judgements upon her,
 he could not but weep over her. No Prophet so tender as Christ, nor
 490 so compassionate; and therefore he never takes rod into his hand, but
 with teares in his eyes. Alas, did God lack a footstool, that he should
 make man only to tread and trample upon? Did God lack glory,
 and could have it no other way, but by creating man therefore, to
 afflict him temporally here, and eternally hereafter? whatsoever
 Christ weeps for in the way of his mercy, it is likely he was dis-
 pleased with it in the way of his Justice: If he weep for it, he had
 rather it were not so. If then those judgements upon Jerusalem were
 only from his owne primary, and positive, and absolute Decree, with-
 500 out any respect to their sins, could he be displeased with his owne
 act, or weep and lament that which onely himselfe had done? would
 God ask that question of Israel, *Quare moriemini domus Israel?* why
 will you dye O house of Israel? if God lay open to that answer, We
 die therefore, because you have killed us? Jerusalem would not judge
 her selfe, therefore Christ judged her; Jerusalem would not weep
 for her self, and therefore Jesus wept; but in those teares of his, he

*Inter
 judicia*

[Isa. 22.1,
 23.1;
 Nahum 1.1]
 Esay 16.9

[Ezek.
 33.11]

shewed, that he had rather her own teares had averted, and washed away those judgements.

Cum appro-
pinquavit

He wept, *cum appropinquavit*, says the Text there, *when Iesus came near the City and saw it, then he wept*; not till then. If we will not come neare the miseries of our brethren, if we will not see them, we will never weep over them, never be affected towards them. It was *cum ille*, not *cum illi*, when Christ himselfe, not when his Disciples, his followers, who could doe Jerusalem no good, tooke knowledge of it. It was not *cum illi*, nor it was not *cum illa*, not when those judgements drew neare; It is not said so; neither is there any time limited in the Text, when those judgements were to fall upon Jerusalem; it is onely said generally, indefinitely, these dayes shall come upon her. And yet Christ did not ease himselfe upon that, that those calamities were remote and farre off, but though they were so, and not to fall till after his death, yet he lamented future calamities then, then Jesus wept. Many such little Brookes as these fall into this River, the consideration of Christs Propheticall teares; but let it be enough to have sprinkled these drops out of the River; That Jesus, though a private person, wept in contemplation of publique calamities; That he wept in the best times, fore-seeing worse; That he wept in their miseries, because he was no Author of them: That he wept not till he tooke their miseries into his consideration: And he did weep a good time, before those miseries fell upon them. There remaine yet his third teares, his pontificall teares, which accompany his sacrifice; Those teares we called the Sea, but a Sea which must now be bounded with a very little sand.

3 Part

To saile apace through this Sea; these teares, the teares of his Crosse, were expressed by that inestimable waight, the sinnes of all the world. If all the body were eye, argues the Apostle in another place; why, here all the body was eye; every pore of his body made an eye by teares of blood, and every inch of his body made an eye by their bloody scourges. And if Christs looking upon *Peter*, made *Peter* weep, shall not his looking upon us here, with teares in his eyes, such teares in such eyes, springs of teares, rivers of teares, seas of teares

[Lu. 22.61,
62]

⁵³⁰ make us weep too? *Peter* who wept under the waight of his particular sin, wept bitterly: how bitterly wept Christ under the waight of all the sins of all the world? In the first teares, Christs humane teares

[1 Cor.
12.17]

(those we called a spring) we fetched water at one house, we condoled a private calamity in another; *Lazarus* was dead. In his second teares, his Propheticall teares, wee went to the condoling of a whole Nation; and those we called a River. In these third teares, his pontificall teares, teares for sin, for all sins (those we call a Sea) here is *Mare liberum*, a Sea free and open to all; Every man may saile home, home to himselfe, and lament his own sins there.

550 I am farre from concluding all to be impenitent, that doe not actually weep and shed teares; I know there are constitutions, complexions, that doe not afford them. And yet the worst Epithet, which the best Poet could fixe upon *Pluto* himselfe, was to call him *Illachrymabilis*, a person that could not weep. But to weep for other things, and not to weep for sin, or if not to teares, yet not to come to that tendernes, to that melting, to that thawing, that resolving of the bowels which good soules feele; this is a spunge (I said before, every man is a spunge) this is a spunge dried up into a Pumice stone; the lightnesse, the hollownesse of a spunge is there still, but (as the 560 Pumice is) dried in the *Ætnaes* of lust, of ambition, of other flames in this world.

I have but three words to say of these teares of this weeping. What it is, what it is for, what it does; the nature, the use, the benefit of these teares, is all. And in the first, I forbeare to insist upon S. *Basil*s Metaphor, *Lachrymæ sudor animi male sani*; Sin is my sicknesse, the blood of Christ Jesus is my Bezar, teares is the sweat that that produceth. I forbeare *Gregory Nyssens* Metaphor too, *Lachryma sanguis cordis defœcatus*; Teares are our best blood, so agitated, so ventilated, so purified, so rarified into spirits, as that thereby I become 570 *Idem spiritus*, one spirit with my God. That is large enough, and embraces all, which S. *Gregory* sayes, That man weeps truly, that soul sheds true teares, that considers seriously, first, *ubi fuit in innocentia*, the blessed state which man was in, in his integrity at first, *ubi fuit*; and then considers, *ubi est in temptationibus*, the weak estate that man is in now, in the midst of temptations, where, if he had no more, himself were temptation too much, *ubi est*; and yet considers farther, *ubi erit, in gehenna*, the insupportable, and for all that, the inevitable, the irreparable, and for all that, undeterminable torments of hell, *ubi erit*; and lastly, *ubi non erit, in cœlis*, the unexpressible joy and glory

⁵⁸⁰ which he loses in heaven, *ubi non erit*, where he shall never be. These foure to consider seriously, where man was, where he is, where he shall be, where he shall never be, are foure such Rivers, as constitute a Paradise. And as a ground may be a weeping ground, though it have no running River, no constant spring, no gathering of waters in it; so a soule that can poure out it self into these religious considerations, may be a weeping soule, though it have a dry eye: This weeping then is but a true sorrow, (that was our first) and then, what this true sorrow is given us for, and that is our next Consideration.

Ad quid

⁵⁹⁰ As water is in nature a thing indifferent, it may give life, (so the first living things that were, were in the water) and it may destroy life, (so all things living upon the earth, were destroyed in the water) but yet though water may, though it have done good and bad, yet water does now one good office, which no ill quality that is in it can equall, it washes our soules in Baptisme; so though there be good teares and bad teares, teares that wash away sin, and teares that are sin, yet all teares have this degree of good in them, that they are all some kinde of argument of good nature, of a tender heart; and the Holy Ghost loves to work in Waxe, and not in Marble. I hope that is but meerly Poeticall which the Poet saies, *Discunt lachrymare decenter*; that some ⁶⁰⁰ study to weep with a good grace; *Quoque volunt plorant tempore, quoque modo*, they make use and advantage of their teares, and weep when they will. But of those who weep not when they would, but when they would not, do half employ their teares upon that for which God hath given them that sacrifice, upon sin? God made the Firmament, which he called Heaven, after it had divided the waters: After we have distinguished our teares, naturall from spirituall, worldly from heavenly, then there is a Firmament established in us, then there is a heaven opened to us: and truly, to cast Pearles before Swine, will scarce be better resembled, then to shed teares which resemble ⁶¹⁰ pearles for worldly losses.

Are there examples of men passionately enamored upon age? or if upon age, upon deformity? If there be examples of that, are they not examples of scorn too? doe not all others laugh at their teares? and yet such is our passionate doting upon this world. *Mundi facies*, sayes S. *Augustine*, (and even S. *Augustine* himselfe hath scarce said any thing more pathetically) *tanta rerum labe contrita, ut etiam*

speciem seductionis amiserit: The face of the whole world is so defaced, so wrinkled, so ruined, so deformed, as that man might be trusted with this world, and there is no jealousie, no suspition that
 620 this world should be able to minister any occasion of tentation to man: *Speciem seductionis amisit.* And yet, *Qui in seipso aruit, in nobis floret*, sayes S. *Gregory*, as wittily as S. *Augustine*, (as it is easie to be witty, easie to extend an Epigram to a Satyre, and a Satyre to an Invective, in declaiming against this world) that world which findes it selfe truly in an Autumne, in it selfe, findes it selfe in a spring, in our imaginations. *Labenti hæremus*, sayes that Father; *Et cum labentem sistere non possumus, cum ipso labimur;* The world passes away, and yet wee cleave to it; and when wee cannot stay it from passing away, wee passe away with it.

630 To mourne passionately for the love of this world, which is decrepit, and upon the deathbed, or imoderately for the death of any that is passed out of this world, is not the right use of teares. That hath good use which *Chrysologus* notes, that when Christ was told of *Lazarus* death, he said he was glad; when he came to raise him to life, then hee wept: for though his Disciples gained by it, (they were confirmed by a Miracle) though the family gained by it, (they had their *Lazarus* againe) yet *Lazarus* himselfe lost by it, by being reimprisoned, re-committed, re-submitted to the manifold incommodities of this world. When our Saviour Christ forbad the women to
 640 weepe for him, it was because there was nothing in him, for teares to worke upon; no sin: *Ordinem flendi docuit*, saies S. *Bernard*, Christ did not absolutely forbid teares, but regulate and order their teares, that they might weepe in the right place; first for sin. *David* wept for *Absolon*; He might imagine, that he died in sin, he wept not for the Child by *Bathsheba*, he could not suspect so much danger in that. *Exitus aquarum*, saies *David*, *Rivers of waters ran downe from mine eyes, why? Quia illi, Because they*, who are they? not other men, as it is ordinarily taken; but *Quia illi, Because mine owne eyes* (so *Hilary*, and *Ambrose*, and *Augustine* take it) *have not kept thy Lawes*:
 650 As the calamities of others, so the sins of others may, but our owne sins must be the object of our sorrow. *Thou shalt offer to me*, saies God, *the first of thy ripe fruits, and of thy liquors*, as our Translation hath it: The word in the Originall is *Vedingnacha, lachrymarum*,

Psal.

119.136

Exod. 22.29

and of thy teares: Thy first teares must be to God for sin: The second and third may be to nature and civility, and such secular offices. But *Liquore ad lippitudinem apto quisquamne ad pedes lavandos abutetur?* It is S. *Chrysostomes* exclamation and admiration, will any wash his feet in water for sore eyes? will any man embalme the Carcasse of the world, which he treads under foote, with those teares which
⁶⁶⁰ should embalme his soule? Did *Joseph* of Arimathea bestow any of his perfumes (though he brought a superfluous quantity, a hundred pound waight for one body) yet did he bestow any upon the body of either of the Thieves? Teares are true sorrow, that you heard before; True sorrow is for sin, that you have heard now; All that remaines is how this sorrow works, what it does.

*Quid ope-
rantur*

Mendoza
in 1 Sam.

The Fathers have infinitely delighted themselves in this descant, the blessed effect of holy teares. He amongst them that remembers us, that in the old Law all Sacrifices were washed, he meanes, That our best sacrifice, even prayer it selfe, receives an improvement, a dignity,
⁶⁷⁰ by being washed in teares. He that remembers us, that if any roome of our house be on fire, we run for water, meanes that in all temptations, we should have recourse to teares. He that tels us, that money being put into a bason, is seene at a farther distance, if there be water in the bason, then if it be emptie, meanes also, that our most pretious devotions receive an addition, a multiplication by holy teares. S. *Bernard* meanes all that they all meane in that, *Cor lachrymas nesciens durum, impurum*, A hard heart is a foule heart. Would you shut up the devill in his owne channell, his channell of brimstone, and make that worse? S. *Hierom* tels the way, *Plus tua lachryma, &c.* Thy
⁶⁸⁰ teares torment him more then the fires of hell; will you needs have holy water? truly, true teares are the holiest water. And for Purgatory, it is liberally confessed by a Jesuit, *Non minus efficax, &c.* One teare will doe thee as much good, as all the flames of Purgatory. We have said more then once, that man is a spunge; And in *Codice scripta*, all our sins are written in Gods Booke, saies S. *Chrysostome*: If there I can fill my spunge with teares, and so wipe out all my sins out of that Book, it is a blessed use of the Spunge.

I might stand upon this, the manifold benefits of godly teares, long: so long, as till you wept, and wept for sin; and that might be very
⁶⁹⁰ long. I contract all to this one, which is all: To how many blessed-

nesses must these teares, this godly sorrow reach by the way, when as it reaches to the very extreme, to that which is opposed to it, to Joy? for godlie sorrow is Joy. The words in *Job* are in the Vulgat, *Dimitte me ut plangam dolorem meum: Lord spare me a while that I may lament my lamentable estate:* and so ordinarily the Expositors that follow that Translation, make their use of them. But yet it is in the Originall, *Lord spare me a while, that I may take comfort:* That which one cals *lamenting*, the other calls *rejoycing*: To conceive true sorrow and true joy, are things not onely contiguous, but continual; ⁷⁰⁰ they doe not onely touch and follow one another in a certaine succession, Joy assuredly after sorrow, but they consist together, they are all one, Joy and Sorrow. *My teares have beene my meat day and night,* saies *David*: not that he had no other meate, but that none relish so well. It is a Grammaticall note of a Jesuit, (I doe not tell you it is true; I have almost told you that it is not true, by telling you whose it is, but that it is but a Grammaticall note) That when it is said *Tempus cantus, The time of singing is come*, it might as well be rendred out of the Hebrew, *Tempus plorationis, The time of weeping is come;* And when it is said, *Nomini tuo cantabo, Lord I will sing unto thy* ⁷¹⁰ *Name*, it might be as well rendred out of the Hebrew, *Plorabo, I will weepe, I will sacrifice my teares unto thy Name.* So equall, so indiferent a thing is it, when we come to godly sorrow, whether we call it sorrow or joy, weeping or singing.

To end all, to weep for sin is not a damp of melancholy, to sigh for sin, is not a vapour of the spleene, but as *Monicaes* Confessor said still unto her, in the behalfe of her Son S. *Augustine, filius istarum lachrymarum*, the son of these teares cannot perish; so wash thy selfe in these three exemplar bathes of Christs teares, in his humane teares, and be tenderly affected with humane accidents, in his Propheticall ⁷²⁰ teares, and avert as much as in thee lieth, the calamities imminent upon others, but especially in his pontificall teares, teares for sin, and *I am thy Confessor, non ego, sed Dominus*; not I, but the spirit of God himself is thy Confessor, and he absolves thee, *filius istarum lachrymarum*, the soule bathed in these teares cannot perish: for this is *trina immersio*, that threefold dipping which was used in the Primitive Church in baptisme. And in this baptisme, thou takest a new Christian name, thou who wast but a Christian, art now a re-

Job 10.20

Psal. 42.3

Mendoza

Cant. 2.12

2 Sam. 22.50

[2 Kings
5.14]

generate Christian; and as *Naaman* the Leper came cleaner out of Jordan, then he was before his leprosie, (for his flesh came as the

Esay 25.[8]

⁷³⁰ flesh of a child) so there shall be better evidence in this baptisme of thy repentance, then in thy first baptisme; better in thy self, for then thou hadst no sense of thy own estate, in this thou hast: And thou shalt have better evidence from others too; for howsoever some others will dispute, whether all children which dye after Baptisme, be certainly saved or no, it never fell into doubt or disputation, whether all that die truely repentant, be saved or no. Weep these teares truly, and

Revel. 7.17

God shall performe to thee, first that promise which he makes in

Esay, The Lord shall wipe all teares from thy face, all that are fallen

by any occasion of calamity here, in the militant Church; and he shall

⁷⁴⁰ performe that promise which he makes in the Revelation, *The Lord shall wipe all teares from thine eyes*, that is, dry up the fountaine of

teares; remove all occasion of teares hereafter, in the triumphant

Church.

Number 14.

*Preached at S. Pauls, in the Evening,
upon Easter-day. 1623.*

Part of the second Lesson of that Evening Prayer.

ACTS 2.36. *THEREFORE LET ALL THE HOUSE
OF ISRAEL KNOW ASSUREDLY, THAT GOD
HATH MADE THAT SAME IESUS, WHOM YE
HAVE CRUCIFIED, BOTH LORD, AND CHRIST.*

THE FIRST word of the Text, must be the last part of the Sermon, *Therefore; Therefore let all know it.* Here is something necessary to be knowne, And the Meanes by which we are to know it; And these will be our two parts; *Scientia, & Modus, Knowledge, and the way to it;* For, *Qui testatur de scientia, testatur de modo scientiae,* is a good rule in all Laws, He that will testifie any thing upon his knowledge, must declare how he came by that knowledge. So then, what we must conclude, and upon what premisses, what we must resolve, and what must lead us to that resolution, are our two ¹⁰ stages, our two resting places: And to those two, our severall steps are these; In the first, *Let all the house of Israel know, &c.* we shall consider first, The Manner of S. Peter, (for the Text is part of a Sermon of S. Peters) in imprinting this Knowledge in his Auditory; which is, first, in that Compellation of love and honour, *Domus Israel, The house of Israel:* But yet, when hee hath raised them to a sense of their dignity, in that attribute, he doth not pamper them with an over-value of them, he lets them know their worst, as well as their best, Though you be the house of Israel, yet it is you that have crucified Christ Jesus, *That Iesus, whom ye have crucified;* And from this his

Divisio

²⁰ Manner of preparing them, we shall passe to the Matter that he proposes to them: When he had remembred them what God had done for them (*You are the house of Israel*) and what they had done against God, (*You have crucified that Jesus*) He imparts a blessed message to them all, *Let all know it*: Let them know it, and know it assuredly; He exhibits it to their reason, to their naturall understanding, And what? The greatest mystery, the entire mystery of our salvation, *That that Jesus is both Lord, and Christ*; But he is made so; Made so by God; Made both; Made Christ, that is, anointed, embalmed, preserved from corruption, even in the grave, And made

³⁰ Lord by his triumph, and by being made Head of the Church, in the Resurrection, and in the Ascension: And so, that which is the last step of our first stage, (*That that Jesus is made Lord, as well as he is made Christ*) enters us upon our second stage, The meanes by which we are to know, and prove all this to our selves; *Therefore*, sayes the Text, *let all know it*; wherefore? why, because God hath raised him, after you had crucified him; Because *God hath loosed the bands of death, because it was impossible that he should be holden by death*; Because *Davids* prophecy of a deliverance from the grave is fulfilled in him, Therefore let all know this to be thus. So that the Resurrection

⁴⁰ of Christ is argument enough to prove, that Christ is made Lord of all; And if he be Lord, he hath Subjects, that do as he does; And so his Resurrection is become an argument, and an assurance of our Resurrection too; and that is as far as we shall go in our second part, That first Christs Resurrection is prooфе enough to us of his Dominion, if he be risen, he is Lord, and then his Dominion is prooфе enough to us of our Resurrection, if he be Lord, Lord of us, we shall rise too: And when we have paced, and passed through all these steps, we shall in some measure have solemnized this day of the Resurrection of Christ; and in some measure have made it the day of our

⁵⁰ Resurrection too.

1 Part
Domus
Israel

First then, the Apostle applies himself to his Auditory, in a faire, in a gentle manner; he gives them their Titles, *Domus Israel, The house of Israel*. We have a word now denized, and brought into familiar use amongst us, Complement; and for the most part, in an ill sense; so it is, when the heart of the speaker doth not answer his tongue; but God forbid but a true heart, and a faire tongue might

very well consist together: As vertue it self receives an addition, by being in a faire body, so do good intentions of the heart, by being expressed in faire language. That man aggravates his condemnation,
⁶⁰ that gives me good words, and meanes ill; but he gives me a rich Jewell, and in a faire Cabinet, he gives me precious wine, and in a clean glasse, that intends well, and expresses his good intentions well too. If I beleeve a faire speaker, I have comfort a little while, though he deceive me, but a froward and peremptory refuser, unsaddles me at first. I remember a vulgar Spanish Author, who writes the *Iosephina*, the life of *Ioseph*, the husband of the blessed Virgin *Mary*, who moving that question, why that Virgin is never called by any style of Majesty, or Honour in the Scriptures, he sayes, That if after the declaring of her to be the Mother of God, he had added any other
⁷⁰ Title, the Holy Ghost had not been a good Courtier, (as his very word is) nor exercised in good language, and he thinks that had been a defect in the Holy Ghost himself. He meanes surely the same that *Epiphanius* doth, That in naming the Saints of God, and especially the blessed Virgin, we should alwayes give them the best Titles that are applyable to them; *Quis unquam ausus*, (saies he) *proferre nomen Mariæ, & non statim addidit virgo?* Who ever durst utter the name of that *Mary*, without that addition of incomparable honour, *The Virgin Mary?*

That Spanish Author need not be suspitious of the Holy Ghost in
⁸⁰ that kinde, that he is no good Courtier so; for in all the books of the world, you shall never reade so civill language, nor so faire expressions of themselves to one another, as in the Bible: When *Abraham* shall call himself *dust, and ashes*, (and indeed if the Son of God were a *worme and no man*, what was *Abraham*?) If God shall call this *Abraham*, this Dust, this Worme of the dust, *The friend of God*, (and all friendship implyes a parity, an equality in something;) when *David* shall call himself *a flea, and a dead dog*, even in respect of *Saul*, and God shall call *David*, *A man according to his own heart*, when God shall call us, *The Apple of his own eye*, *The Seale upon*
⁹⁰ *his own right hand*, who would go farther for an Example, or farther then that example for a Rule, of faire accesses, of civill approaches, of sweet and honourable entrances into the affections of them with whom they were to deale? Especially is this manner necessary in men

Epiphan.
Hæres. 78

[Gen. 18.27]

[Psa. 22.6]

[Jas. 2.23]

[1 Sam.

24.14]

[Acts 13.22]

[Zech. 2.8]

[Cant. 8.6]

[Isa. 42.3]

of our profession; *Not to break a bruised reed, nor to quench smoaking flaxe*, not to avert any, from a will to heare, by any frowardnesse, any morosity, any defrauding them of their due praise, and due titles; but to accompany this blessed Apostle, in this way of his discreet, and religious insinuation, to call them *Men of Iudea*, ver. 14. and *Men of Israel*, ver. 22. and *Men and Brethren*, ver. 29. and here *Domus Israel*,
¹⁰⁰ the ancientest house, the honourablest house, the lastingest house in the world, *The house of Israel*.

Accusat
tamen

He takes from them nothing that is due, that would but exasperate; He is civill, but his civility doth not amount to a flattery, as though the cause of God needed them, or God must be beholding to them, or God must pay for it, or smart for it, if they were not pleased. And therefore, though he do give them their titles, *Aperte illis imputat crucifixionem Christi*, sayes S. *Chrysostome*, Plainly and without disguise he imputes and puts home to them, the crucifying of Christ; how honourably soever they were descended, he layes that
¹¹⁰ murder close to their Consciences, *You, you house of Israel have crucified the Lord Iesus*. There is a great deale of difference between *Shimeis* vociferations against *David*; *Thou man of blood, thou man of Belial*, And *Nathans* proceeding with *David*; and yet *Nathan* forbore not to tell him, *Thou art the man*, Thou hast despised the Lord, Thou hast killed *Vriah*, Thou hast taken his wife. It is one thing to sow pillows under the elbows of Kings, (flatterers do so) another thing to pull the chaire from under the King, and popular and seditious men do so. Where Inferiours insult over their Superiours, we tell them, *Christi Domini, they are the Lords anointed*,
¹²⁰ and the Lord hath said, *Touch not mine anointed*; And when such Superiours insult over the Lord himselfe, and think themselves Gods without limitation, as the God of heaven is, when they doe so, we must tell them they doe so, *Etsi Christi Domini*, though you be the Lords anointed, yet you crucifie the anointed Lord: for this was S. *Peters* method, though his successor will not be bound by it.

Omnes

When he hath carried the matter thus evenly betweene them, (I doe not deny, but you are the House of Israel, you cannot deny but you have crucified the Lord Jesus; you are heires of a great deale of honour, but you are guilty of a shrewd fault too) stand or fall to your
¹³⁰ Master, your Master hath dealt thus mercifully with you all, that to

2 Sam. 16.7
2 Sam. 12.7

[1 Sam. 24.6]

[Psa. 105.15]

you all, all, he sends a message, *Sciant omnes, Let all the house of Israel know this.* Needs the house of Israel know any thing? Needs there any learning in persons of Honour? We know, this characterizes, this distinguishes some whole Nations; In one Nation it is almost a scorn for a gentleman to be learned, in another almost every gentleman, is conveniently, and in some measure, learned. But I enlarge not my self, I pretend not to comprehend Nationall virtues, or Nationall vices. For this knowledge, which is proclaimed here, which is, the knowledge that the true Messias is come, and that there is no
¹⁴⁰ other to bee expected, is such a knowledge, as that even the house of Israel it self, is without a Foundation, if it be without this knowledge. Is there any house, that needs no reparations? Is there a house of Israel, (let it be the Library, the depositary of the Oracles of God, a true Church, that hath the true word of the true God, let it be the house fed with Manna, that hath the true administration of the true Sacraments of Christ Jesus) is there any such house, that needs not a farther knowledge, that there are alwaies thieves about that house, that would rob us of that Word, and of those Sacraments?

The Holy Ghost is a Dove, and the Dove couples, paires, is not
¹⁵⁰ alone; Take heed of singular, of schismatical opinions; and what is more singular, more schismatical, then when all Religion is confined in one mans breast? The Dove is *animal sociale*, a sociable creature, and not singular; and the Holy Ghost is that; And Christ is a Sheep, *animal gregale*, they flock together: Embrace thou those truths, which the whole flock of Christ Jesus, the whole Christian Church, hath from the beginning acknowledged to be truths, and truths necessary to salvation; for, for other Traditionall, and Conditionall, and Occasionall, and Collaterall, and Circumstantiall points, for Almanack Divinity, that changes with the season, with the time, and Meridionall
¹⁶⁰ Divinity, calculated to the heighth of such a place, and Lunary Divinity, that ebbes and flowes, and State Divinity, that obeys affections of persons, *Domus Israel*, the true Church of God, had need of a continuall succession of light, a continuall assistance of the Spirit of God, and of her own industry, to know those things that belong to her peace.

And therefore let no Church, no man, think that he hath done enough, or knowes enough. If the Devill thought so too, we might

the better think so: but since we see, that he is in continuall practise against us, let us be in a continuall diligence, and watchfulnesse, to ¹⁷⁰ countermine him. We are *domus Israel*, the house of Israel, and it is a great measure of knowledge, that God hath afforded us; but if every Pastor look into his Parish, and every Master into his own Family, and see what is practising there, *sciat domus Israel*, let all our Israel know, that there is more knowledge, and more wisdome necessary; Be every man farre from calumniating his Superiours, for that mercy which is used towards them that are fallen, but be every man as far from remitting, or slackning his diligence, for the preserving of them, that are not fallen.

Cruci-
fixistis The wisest must know more, though you be *domus Israel*, the ¹⁸⁰ house of Israel already; and then, *Etsi Crucifixistis*, though you have crucified the Lord Jesus, you may know it, *sciant omnes*, let all know it. S. Paul saies once, *If they had known it, they would not have crucified the Lord of life*; but he never saies, if they have crucified the Lord of life, they are excluded from knowledge. I meane no more, but that the mercy of God in manifesting and applying himself to us, is above all our sins. No man knowes enough; what measure of tentations soever he have now, he may have temptations, through which, this knowledge, and this grace, will not carry him; and therefore he must proceed from grace to grace. So no man hath sinned so deeply, ¹⁹⁰ but that God offers himself to him yet; *Sciant omnes*, the wisest man hath ever something to learn, he must not presume; the sinfullest man hath God ever ready to teach him, he must not despaire.

Sciant Now the universality of this mercy, hath God enlarged, and extended very farre, in that he proposes it, even to our knowledge, *Sciant*, let all know it. It is not only *credant*, let all beleeve it; for the infusing of faith, is not in our power: but God hath put it in our power to satisfie their reason, and to chafe that waxe, to which he himself vouchsafes to set to the great seale of faith. And that S. Hierome takes to be most properly his Commission, *Tentemus animas, quæ* ²⁰⁰ *deficiunt a fide, naturalibus rationibus adjuvare*; Let us indeavour to assist them, who are weak in faith, with the strength of reason. And truly it is very well worthy of a serious consideration, that whereas all the Articles of our Creed, are objects of faith, so, as that we are bound to receive them *de fide*, as matters of faith, yet God hath left

that, out of which, all these Articles are to be deduced, and proved, (that is, the Scripture) to humane arguments; It is not an Article of the Creed, to beleeve these, and these Books, to be, or not to be Canonicall Scripture; but our arguments for the Scripture are humane arguments, proportioned to the reason of a naturall man. God

²¹⁰ does not seale in water, in the fluid and transitory imaginations, and opinions of men; we never set the seale of faith to them; But in Waxe, in the rectified reason of man, that reason that is ductile, and flexible, and pliant, to the impressions that are naturally proportioned unto it, God sets to his seale of faith. They are not continuall, but they are contiguous, they flow not from one another, but they touch one another, they are not both of a peece, but they enwrap one another, Faith and Reason. Faith it self, by the Prophet *Esay* is called knowledge; *By his knowledge shall my righteous servant justifie many*,

Esay 53.11

sayes God of Christ; that is, by that knowledge, that men shall have ²²⁰ of him. So *Zechary* expresses it at the Circumcision of *John Baptist*, *That hee was to give knowledge of salvation, for the remission of sins*.

Luke 1.77

As therefore it is not enough for us, in our profession to tell you, *Qui non crediderit, damnabitur*, Except you beleeve all this, you shall be damned, without we execute that Commission before, *Ite prædictate*, go and preach, work upon their affections, satisfie their reason; so it is not enough for you, to rest in an imaginary faith, and easinesse in beleeving, except you know also what, and why, and how you come to that belief. Implicite beleevers, ignorant beleevers, the adversary may swallow; but the understanding beleever, he must chaw,

[Mark
16.16]

²³⁰ and pick bones, before he come to assimilate him, and make him like himself. The implicite beleever stands in an open field, and the enemy will ride over him easily; the understanding beleever, is in a fenced town, and he hath out-works to lose, before the town be pressed; that is, reasons to be answered, before his faith be shaked, and he will sell himself deare, and lose himself by inches, if he be sold or lost at last; and therefore *sciant omnes*, let all men know, that is, endeavour to informe themselves, to understand.

That particular, that generall particular, (if we may so say, for it includes all) which all were to know, is, that the same *Jesus*, whom ²⁴⁰ they Crucified, was exalted above them all.

Iesum

Suppose an impossibility; (*S. Paul* does so, when he sayes to the

[Gal. 1.8]

Galatians, If an Angell from heaven should preach any other Gospell; for that is impossible;) If we could have been in Paradise, and seen God take a clod of red earth, and make that wretched clod of contemptible earth, such a body as should be fit to receive his breath, an immortall soule, fit to be the house of the second person in the Trinity, for God the Son to dwel in bodily; fit to be the Temple for the third person, for the Holy Ghost, should we not have wondred more, then at the production of all other creatures? It is more, that ²⁵⁰ the same Jesus, whom they had crucified, is exalted thus, to sit in that despised flesh, at the right hand of our glorious God; that all their spitting should but macerate him, and dissolve him to a better mold, a better plaister; that all their buffetings should but knead him, and presse him into a better forme; that all their scoffes, and contumelies should be prophesies; that that *Ecce Rex, Behold your King;* and that *Rex Iudeorum, This is the King of the Iews,* which words, they who spoke them, thought to be lies, in their own mouthes, should become truths, and he be truly the King, not of the Jews only, but of all Nations too; that their nayling him upon the Crosse, should be a ²⁶⁰ settling of him upon an everlasting Throne; and their lifting him up upon the Crosse, a waiting upon him, so farre upon his way to heaven, that this Jesus, whom they had thus evacuated, thus crucified, should bee thus exalted, was a subject of infinite admiration, but mixt with infinite confusion too.

Wretched Blasphemer of the name of Jesus, that Jesus, whom thou crucifiest, and treadest under thy feet, in that oath, is thus exalted. Uncleane Adulterer, that Jesus, whom thou crucifiest, in stretching out those forbidden armes in a strange bed, thou that beheadest thy self, castest off thy Head, Christ Jesus, that thou mightst make thy ²⁷⁰ body, the body of a Harlot, that Jesus, whom thou defilest there, is exalted. Let severall sinners passe this through their severall sins, and remember with wonder, but with confusion too, that that Jesus, whom they have crucified, is exalted above all.

Factus

How farre exalted? Three steps, which carry him above S. Pauls third heaven: He is Lord, and he is Christ, and he is made so by God; God hath made him both Lord and Christ. We return up these steps, as they lie, and take the lowest first: *Fecit Deus,* God made him so: Nature did not make him so, no, not if we consider him in

that Nature, wherein he consists of two Natures, God, and Man. We
²⁸⁰ place in the Schoole, (for the most part) the infinite Merit of Christ Jesus (that his one act of dying once, should be a sufficient satisfaction to God, in his Justice, for all the sins of all men) we place it, I say, rather *in pacto*, then *in persona*, rather that this contract was thus made between the Father, and the Son, then that, whatsoever that person, thus consisting of God and Man, should doe, should, only in respect of the person, bee of an infinite value, and extention, to that purpose; for then, any act of his, his Incarnation, his Circumcision, any had been sufficient for our Redemption, without his death. But *fecit Deus*, God made him that, that he is; The contract between the Father and him,
²⁹⁰ that all that he did, should be done so, and to that purpose, that way, and to that end, this is that, that hath exalted him, and us in him.

If then, not the subtily, and curiosity, but the wisedome of the Schoole, and of the Church of God, have justly found it most commodious, to place all the mysteries of our Religion, *in pacto*, rather then *in persona*, in the Covenant, rather then in the person, though a person of incomprehensible value, let us also, in applying to our selves those mysteries of our Religion, still *adhærere pactis*, and not *personis*, still rely upon the Covenant of God, with man, revealed in his word, and not upon the person of any man: Not upon the persons
³⁰⁰ of Martyrs, as if they had done more then they needed for themselves, and might relieve us, with their supererogations; for, if they may work for us, they may beleeve for us; and *Iustus fide sua vivet*, sayes the Prophet, *The righteous shall live by his owne faith*. Not upon that person, who hath made himself supernumerary, and a Controller upon the three persons in the Trinity, the Bishop of Rome; not upon the consideration of accidents upon persons, when God suffers some to fall, who would have advanced his cause, and some to be advanced, who would have throwne downe his cause, but let us ever dwell *in pacto*, and in the *fecit Deus*, this Covenant God hath made in his
³¹⁰ word, and in this we rest.

It is God then, not nature, not his nature that made him; And what? *Christ*; Christ is anointed: And then *Mary Magdalen* made him Christ, for she anointed him before his death; And *Joseph of Arimathea* made him Christ, for he anointed him, and embalmed him, after his death. But her anointing before, kept him not from

Habak. 2.4

Christus
 [Mark 14.8]
 [John 19.38-
 40]

- [Psa. 45.7;
Heb. 1.9]
[Acts 2.31]
[Isa. 43.2]
[Mark
16.19]
- Dominus*
- Psal. 2.8
- 2 Part
- Therefore
- [Rom. 4.25]
- death, nor his anointing after, would not have kept him from putrefaction in the grave, if God had not in a farre other manner, made him Christ, anointed him *præ consortibus*, above his fellows. God hath anointed him, embalmed him, enwrapped him in the leaves ³²⁰ of the Prophets, *That his flesh should not see corruption in the grave, That the flames of hell should not take hold of him*, nor sindge him there; so anointed him, as that, in his Humane nature, *He is ascended into heaven, and set downe at the right hand of God*; For, *de eo quod ex Maria est, Petrus loquitur*, sayes S. Basil, That making of him Christ, that is, that anointing which S. Peter speakes of in this place, is the dignifying of his humane nature, that was anointed, that was consecrated, that was glorified in heaven.
- But he had a higher step then that; *God made this Iesus, Christ, and he made him Lord*; He brought him to heaven, in his own person ³³⁰ son, in his humane nature; so he shall all us; but when we shall be all there, he onely shall be Lord of all. And if there should be no other bodies in heaven, then his, yet, yet now he is Lord of all, as he is Head of the Church. *Aske of me*, sayes his Father, *and I will give thee the heathen for thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the Earth for thy possession*. And, as it is added, ver. 6. *I have set my King upon my holy hill of Sion*; So he hath made him Lord, Head of the Jews, and of the Gentiles too, of Sion, and of the Nations also; Hee hath consecrated his person, raised his humane nature, to the glorious region of blessed Spirits, to Heaven, and he hath dignified him with ³⁴⁰ an office, made him Lord, Head of the Church, not only of Jews, and Gentiles upon earth, but of the Militant and Triumphant Church too.
- Our two generall parts were *Scientia, & modus*, what we must all know, and by what we must know it. Our knowledge is, this Exaltation of Jesus; and our meanes is implied, in the first word of the Text, *Therefore*, Therefore because he is raised from the Dead; for to that Resurrection, expressed in three, or foure several phrases before the Text, is this Text, and this Exaltation referred; Christ was delivered for our sins, raised for our justification, and upon that depends all. Christs descending into hell, and his Resurrection, in our Creed, ³⁵⁰ make but one Article, and in our Creed we beleeve them both alike: *Quis nisi Infidelis negaverit, apud inferos fuisse Christum?* saies S. Augustine; Who but an Infidell, will deny Christs descending into

hell? And if he beleeve that to be a limme of the article of the Resurrection, His descent into hell, must rather be an inchoation of his triumph, then a consummation of his Exinanition, The first step of his Exaltation there, rather then the last step of his Passion upon the Crosse: But the Declaration, the Manifestation, that which admits no disputation, was his Resurrection. *Factus, id est, declaratus per Resurrectionem*, saies S. *Cyrill*, He was made Christ, and Lord, that

³⁶⁰ is, declared evidently to be so, by his Resurrection; As there is the like phrase, in S. *Paul*, *God hath made the wisdome of this world, foolishnesse*, that is, declared it to be so. And therefore it is imputed to be a crucifying of the Lord Jesus againe, *Non credere eum, post mortem, immortalem*, Not to beleeve, that now after his having overcome death in his Resurrection, he is in an immortall, and in a glorious state in heaven. For when the Apostle argues thus, *If Christ be not risen, then is our preaching in vaine, and your faith in vaine*, he implies the contrary too, If you beleeve the Resurrection, we have preached to good purpose: *Mortuum esse Christum, pagani credunt; resurrexisse pro-*

³⁷⁰ *pria fides Christianorum*: The Heathen confesse Christs death; To beleeve his Resurrection, is the proper character of a Christian: for the first stone of the Christian faith, was laid in this article of the Resurrection; In the Resurrection onely was the first promise performed, *Ipse conteret, He shall bruise the Serpents head*; for, in this, he triumphed over Death, and Hell; And the last stone of our faith, is laid in the same article too, that is, the day of Judgement; of a day of Judgement God hath given an assurance unto all men (saies S. *Paul* at Athens) *In that he hath raised Christ Jesus from the dead*. In this Christ makes up his circle; in this he is truly *Alpha and Omega*, His comming in

³⁸⁰ Paradise in a promise, his comming to Judgement in the clouds, are tied together in the Resurrection: And therefore all the Gospell, all our preaching, is contracted to that one text, *To beare witnesse of the Resurrection*; onely for that, was there need of a new Apostle, *There was a necessity of one to be chosen in Iudas roome, to be a witnesse of the Resurrection*; *Non ait cæterorum, sed tantum Resurrectionis*, saies S. *Chrysostome*, He does not say, to beare witnesse of the other articles, but onely of the Resurrection; he charges him with no more instructions, he needs no more, in his Commission, but to preach the Resurrection: for in that, *Trophæum de morte excitavit, & indubita-*

1 Cor. 1.20

Heb. 6.6

1 Cor. 15.14

August.

[Gen. 3.15]

Acts 17.31

[Rev. 1.8]

Acts 1.22

Athan.

³⁹⁰ *tum reddidit corruptionem deletam*: Here is a retreat from the whole warfare, here is a Trophee erected upon the last enemy; *The last enemy that shall be destroyed is death*, and here is the death of that enemy, in the Resurrection.

John 2.18

Mat. 12.38

Nos

Esay 53.10

Rom. 14.9

Gregor.

[1 Cor. 6.19]

Mat. 19.28

August.

And therefore, to all those who importuned him for a signe, Christ still turnes upon the Resurrection. The Jewes pressed him in generall,

Quod signum, What signe shewest thou unto us? and he answers,

Destroy this Temple, (this body) and in three dayes I will raise it.

In another place, the Scribes and the Pharisees joyne, *Master we*

would see a signe from thee, and he tels them, *There shall be no signe,*

⁴⁰⁰ *but the signe of the Prophet Ionas*; who was a type of the Resurrection. And then the Pharisees, and Sadduces joyn; now they were bitter enemies to one another; but, as Tertullian saies, *Semper inter duos latrones crucifixus Christus*, It was alwaies Christs case to be crucified betweene two Thieves; So these, though enemies joyne in this vexation, *They aske a signe*, as the rest, and, as to the rest, Christ gives that answer of *Ionas*. So that Christ himselfe determines all, summes up all in this one Article, the Resurrection.

Now, if the Resurrection of this Jesus, have made him, not onely *Christ*, Anointed and consecrated in Heaven, in his owne person, but

⁴¹⁰ made him *Lord*, then he hath Subjects, upon whom that dominion, and that power works, and so we have assurance of a resurrection in him too. That he is made Lord of us by his Resurrection, is rooted in prophecie; *It pleased the Lord to bruise him*, saies the Prophet *Esay*; *But he shall see his seed, and he shall prolong his daies*; that is, he shall see those that are regenerate in him, live with him, for ever.

It is rooted in prophecy, and it spreads forth in the Gospell. *To this end*, saies the Apostle, *Christ died, and rose, that he might be Lord of the dead, and of the living*. Now, what kinde of Lord, if he had no subjects? *Cum videmus caput super aquas*, when the head is above

⁴²⁰ water, will any imagine the body to be drowned? What a perverse consideration were it, to imagine a live head, and dead members? Or, consider our bodies in our selves, and *Our bodies are Temples of the Holy Ghost*; and shall the Temples of the holy Ghost lye for ever, for ever, buried in their rubbidge? They shall not; for, the day of Judgement, is the day of Regeneration, as it is called in the Gospell; *Quia caro nostra ita generabitur per incorruptionem, sicut anima per*

fidem: Because our bodies shall be regenerated by glory there, as our soules are by faith here. Therefore, *Tertullian* cals the Resurrection, *Exemplum spei nostræ*, The Originall, out of which we copy out our
 430 hope; and *Clavem sepulchrorum nostrorum*, How hard soever my grave be locked, yet with that key, with the application of the Resurrection of Christ Jesus, it will open; And they are all names, which expresse this well, which *Tertullian* gives Christ, *Vadem, obsidem, fidejussorem resurrectionis nostræ*, That he is the pledge, the hostage, the surety of our Resurrection: So doth that also which is said in the Schoole, *Sicut Adam forma morientium, ita Christus forma resurgentium*; Without *Adam*, there had beene no such thing as death, without Christ, no such thing as a Resurrection: But *ascendit ille effractor*, (as the Prophet speaks) *The breaker is gone up before, and 440 they have passed through the gate*, that is, assuredly, infallibly, they shall passe.

Theoph.

Mich. 2.13

But what needs all this heat, all this animosity, all this vehemence, about the Resurrection? May not man be happy enough in heaven, though his body never come thither? upon what will ye ground the Resurrection? upon the Omnipotence of God? *Asylum hæreticorum est Omnipotentia Dei*, (which was well said, and often repeated amongst the Ancients) The Omnipotence of God, hath alwaies been the Sanctuary of Heretiques, that is, alwaies their refuge, in all their incredible doctrines, God is able to do it, can do it. You confesse, the
 450 Resurrection is a miracle; And miracles are not to be multiplied, nor imagined without necessity; and what necessity of bodies in Heaven?

Beloved, we make the ground and foundation of the Resurrection, to be, not merely the Omnipotency of God, for God will not doe all, that he can doe: but the ground is, *Omnipotens voluntas Dei revelata*, The Almighty will of God revealed by him, to us: And therefore Christ joynes both these together, *Erratis, Ye erre, not knowing the Scriptures, nor the power of God*; that is, not considering the power of God, as it is revealed in the Scriptures: for there is our foundation of this Doctrine: we know, out of the Omnipotence of God, it may
 460 be; and we know out of the Scriptures it must be: That works upon our faith, this upon our reason; That it is man that must be saved, man that must be damned; and to constitute a man, there must be a body, as well as a soule. Nay, the Immortality of the soule, will not so

Mat. 22.29

[1 Cor.
15.13, 19]

well lie in prooфе, without a resuming of the body. For, upon those words of the Apostle, *If there were no Resurrection, we were the miserablest of all men*, the Schoole reasons reasonably; Naturally the soule and body are united, when they are separated by Death, it is contrary to nature, which nature still affects this union; and consequently the soule is the lesse perfect, for this separation; and it is not ⁴⁷⁰ likely, that the perfect naturall state of the soule, which is, to be united to the body, should last but three or foure score yeares, and, in most, much lesse, and the unperfect state, that in the separation, should last eternally, for ever: so that either the body must be beleeved to live againe, or the soule beleeved to die.

Never therefore dispute against thine own happinesse; never say, God asks the heart, that is, the soule, and therefore rewards the soule, or punishes the soule, and hath no respect to the body; *Nec auferamus cogitationes a collegio carnis*, saies *Tertullian*, Never go about to separate the thoughts of the heart, from the colledge, from the fellowship ⁴⁸⁰ of the body; *Siquidem in carne, & cum carne, & per carnem agitur, quicquid ab anima agitur*, All that the soule does, it does in, and with, and by the body. And therefore, (saies he also) *Caro abluitur, ut anima emaculetur*, The body is washed in baptisme, but it is that the soule might be made cleane; *Caro ungitur, ut anima consecretur*, In all unctions, whether that which was then in use in Baptisme, or that which was in use at our transmigration, and passage out of this world, the body was anointed, that the soule might be consecrated; *Caro signatur*, (saies *Tertullian* still) *ut anima muniatur*; The body is signed with the Crosse, that the soule might be armed ⁴⁹⁰ against tentations; And againe, *Caro de Corpore Christi vescitur, ut anima de Deo saginetur*; My body received the body of Christ, that my soule might partake of his merits. He extends it into many particulars, and summes up all thus, *Non possunt in mercede separari, quæ opera conjungunt*, These two, Body, and Soule, cannot be separated for ever, which, whilst they are together, concurre in all that either of them doe. Never thinke it presumption, saies S. *Gregory*, *Sperare in te, quod in se exhibuit Deus homo*, To hope for that in thy selfe, which God admitted, when he tooke thy nature upon him. And God hath made it, saies he, more easie then so, for

⁵⁰⁰ thee, to beleeve it, because not onely Christ himselfe, but such men, as thou art, did rise at the Resurrection of Christ. And therefore when our bodies are dissolved and liquefied in the Sea, putrified in the earth, resolv'd to ashes in the fire, macerated in the ayre, *Velut in vasa sua transfunditur caro nostra*, make account that all the world is Gods cabinet, and water, and earth, and fire, and ayre, are the proper boxes, in which God laies up our bodies, for the Resurrection. Curiously to dispute against our owne Resurrection, is seditiously to dispute against the dominion of Jesus; who is not made Lord by the Resurrection, if he have no subjects to follow him in the same way.

Tertul.

⁵¹⁰ Wee beleeve him to be Lord, therefore let us beleeve his, and our Resurrection.

This blessed day, which we celebrate now, he rose: he rose so, as none before did, none after, ever shall rise; He rose; others are but raised: *Destroy this Temple*, saies he, *and I will raise it*; I, without employing any other Architect. *I lay downe my life*, saies he: the Jewes could not have killed him, when he was alive; If he were alive here now, the Jesuits could not kill him here now; except his being made *Christ*, and *Lord*, an anointed King, have made him more open to them. *I have a power to lay it downe*, saies he, *and I have a power to take it up againe*.

Ille

John 2.19
John 10.17

This day, we celebrate his Resurrection; this day let us celebrate our owne: Our own, not our one Resurrection, for we need many. Upon those words of our Saviour to *Nicodemus*, *Oportet denuo nasci*, speaking of the necessity of Baptisme, *Non solum denuo, sed tertio nasci oportet*, saies *S. Bernard*, He must be born againe, and againe; againe by baptism, for Originall sin, and for actuall sin, againe by repentance; *Infelix homo ego, & miserabilis casus*, saies he, *cui non sufficit una regeneratio!* Miserable man that I am, and miserable condition that I am fallen into, whom one regeneration will not serve!

Nos

John 3.3

⁵³⁰ So is it a miserable death that hath swallowed us, whom one Resurrection will serve. We need three, but if we have not two, we were as good be without one. There is a Resurrection from worldly calamities, a resurrection from sin, and a resurrection from the grave.

First, from calamities; for, as dangers are called death, (*Pharaoh* calls the plague of Locusts, a death, *Intreat the Lord your God, that*

Exod. 10.17

1 Cor. 15.31
Psal. 41.8

he may take from me, this death onely, And so S. Paul saies, in his dangers, I dye daily) So is the deliverance from danger called a Resurrection: It is the hope of the wicked upon the godly, Now that he lieth, he shall rise no more; that is, Now that he is dead in misery, he

⁵⁴⁰ *shall have no resurrection in this world. Now, this resurrection God does not alwaies give to his servants, neither is this resurrection the measure of Gods love of man, whether he do raise him from worldly calamities or no.*

Apoc. 20.5

The second is the resurrection from sin; and therefore, this S. *John* calls *The first Resurrection*, as though the other, whether we rise from worldly calamities, or no, were not to be reckoned. *Anima spiritualiter cadit, & spiritualiter resurget*, saies S. *Augustine*, Since we are sure, there is a spirituall death of the soule, let us make sure a spirituall resurrection too. *Audacter dicam*, saies S. *Hierome*, I say confidently,

⁵⁵⁰ *Cum omnia posset Deus, suscitare Virginem post ruinam, non potest;* Howsoever God can do all things, he cannot restore a Virgin, that is fallen from it, to virginity againe. He cannot do this in the body, but God is a Spirit, and hath reserved more power, upon the spirit and soule, then upon the body, and therefore *Audacter dicam*, I may say, with the same assurance, that S. *Hierome* does, No soule hath so prostituted her selfe, so multiplied her fornications; but that God can make her a virgin againe, and give her, even the chastity of Christ himselfe. Fulfill therefore that which Christ saies, *The houre is comming, and now is, when the dead shall heare the voyce of the*

John 5.25

⁵⁶⁰ *Son of God, and they that heare shall live:* Be this that houre, be this thy first Resurrection. Blesse Gods present goodnesse, for this now; and attend Gods pleasure, for the other Resurrection hereafter. He

1 Cor. 15.20

August.

that is *the first fruits of them that slept*, Christ Jesus is awake: he dyes no more, he sleepes no more. *Sacrificium pro te fuit, sed à te accepit, quod pro te obtulit:* He offered a Sacrifice for thee, but he had that from thee, that he offered for thee: *Primitiæ fuit, sed tuæ primitiæ;* He was the first fruits, but the first fruits of thy Corne: *Spera in te futurum, quod præcessit in primitiis tuis:* Doubt not of having that in the whole Crophe, which thou hast already in thy first fruits; that ⁵⁷⁰ is, to have that in thy self, which thou hast in thy Saviour. And what glory soever thou hast had in this world, Glory inherited from noble

Ancestors, Glory acquired by merit and service, Glory purchased by money, and observation, what glory of beauty and proportion, what glory of health and strength soever thou hast had in this house of clay, *The glory of the later house, shall be greater then of the former.* To this glory, the God of this glory, by glorious or inglorious waies, such as may most advance his own glory, bring us in his time, for his Son Christ Jesus sake. *Amen.*

Hag. 2.9

Number 15.

Encænia. The Feast of Dedication. Celebrated at Lincolnes Inne, in a Sermon there upon Ascension day, 1623. At the Dedication of a new Chappell there, Consecrated by the Right Reverend Father in God, the Bishop of London. Preached by John Donne, Deane of St. Pauls.

London, Printed by Aug. Mat. for Thomas Jones, and are to bee sold at his Shop in the Strand, at the blacke Raven, neere unto Saint Clements Church. 1623.

[DEDICATORY EPISTLE]

*To the
MASTERS OF THE BENCH,
and the rest of the Honourable Societie of
LINCOLNES INNE.*

It pleased you to exercise your interest in me, and to expresse your favour to mee, in inviting mee to preach this Sermon: and it hath pleased you to doe both over againe, in inviting me to publish it. To this latter service I was the more inclinable, because, though in it I had no occasion to handle any matter of Controversie between us, and those of the Roimane Perswasion, yet the whole body and frame of the Sermon, is opposed against one pestilent calumny of theirs, that wee have cast off all distinction of places, and of dayes, and all outward meanes of assisting the devotion of the Congregation. For this use, I am not sorry that it is made publique, for I shall never bee sorry to appeare plainly, and openly, and directly, without disguise or modification, in the vindicating of our Church from the imputa-

tions and calumnies of that Adversary. If it had no publique use, yet I should satisfie my selfe in this, that it is done in obedience to that, which you may call your Request, but I shall call your Commandement upon

Your very humble Servant in Christ Jesus.

JOHN DONNE

THE PRAYER BEFORE THE SERMON

O Eternall, and most gracious *God*, Father of our Lord *Iesus Christ*; and in him, of all those that are his, As thou diddest make him so much ours, as that he became like us, in all things, sinne onely excepted, make us so much his, as that we may be like him, even without the exception of sinne, that all our sinnes may bee buryed in his wounds, and drowned in his Blood. And as this day wee celebrate his *Ascension* to thee, bee pleased to accept our endeavour of conforming our selves to his patterne, in raysing this place for our *Ascension* to him. Leane upon these *Pinnacles*, O Lord, as thou diddest upon *Jacobs Ladder*, and hearken after us. Bee this thine *Arke*, and let thy *Dove*, thy blessed *Spirit*, come in and out, at these Windowes: and let a full pot of thy *Manna*, a good measure of thy Word, and an effectuall preaching thereof, bee evermore preserved, and evermore bee distributed in this place. Let the Leprosie of *Superstition* never enter within these Walles, nor the hand of *Sacriledge* ever fall upon them. And in these walles, to them that love *Profit* and *Gaine*, manifest thou thy selfe as a *Treasure*, and fill them so; To them that love *Pleasure*, manifest thy selfe, as *Marrow* and *Fatnesse*, and fill them so; And to them that love *Preferment*, manifest thy selfe, as a *Kingdome*, and fill them so; that so thou mayest bee all unto all; give thy selfe wholly to us all, and make us all wholly thine. Accept our humble thanks for all, &c.

JOHN 10.22. *AND IT WAS AT IERUSALEM, THE FEAST OF THE DEDICATION; AND IT WAS WINTER; AND IESUS WALKED IN THE TEMPLE IN SALOMONS PORCH.*

Basill

[1 Cor. 6.19]

Bern. Ser. 1

SAINT BASILL in a Sermon upon the 114. *Psalme*, upon the like occasion as drawes us together now, The consecration of a Church, makes this the reason and the excuse of his late comming thither to doe that Service, that he stayd by the way, to consecrate another Church: I hope every person heere hath done so; consecrated himselfe, who is a *Temple* of the *Holy Ghost*; before hee came to assist, or to testifie the consecration of this place of the Service of *God*. *Nostra festivitas hæc est, quia de Ecclesia nostra*; sayes *Saint Bernard*. This Festivall belongs to us, because it is the consecration of ¹⁰ that place, which is ours, *Magis autem nostra, quia de nobis ipsis*: But it is more properly our Festivall, because it is the consecration of our selves to *Gods* service. For, *Sanctæ Animæ propter inhabitantem Spiritum*; your *Soules* are holy, by the inhabitation of *Gods* holy spirit, who dwells in them. *Sancta corpora propter inhabitantem animam*; Your *Bodies* are holy, by the inhabitation of those sanctified *Soules*. *Sancti parietes, propter Corpora Sanctorum*. These walles are holy, because the *Saints* of *God* meet here within these walls to glorifie him. But yet these places are not onely consecrated and sanctified by your comming; but to bee sanctified also for your comming; that so, as the Congregation sanctifies the place, the place may sanctifie the Congregation too. They must accompany one another; holy persons and holy places; If men would wash sheep in the *Baptisterie*, in the *Font*, those sheep were not christned. If prophane men, or idolatrous men, pray here after their way, their prayers are not sanctified by the place. Neither if it be after polluted, doth the place retain that sanctitie, which is this day to be derived upon it, and to bee imprinted in it.

Our *Text* settles us upon both these considerations, The holy place, and the holy person. It was the *Feast of the Dedication*: there's the ³⁰ holinesse of the place; And the holy person, was holinesse it selfe in the person of *Christ Jesus*, who *walked in the Temple in Salomons Porch*. These two will bee our two parts: And the first of these wee shall make up of these pieces. First, we shall see a lawfull use of *Feasts*, of *Festivall dayes*. And then of other *Feasts*, then were instituted by *God himselfe*; divers were so; this was not. And thirdly, not only a *festivall* solemnizing of some one thing, at some one time, for the present, but an *Anniversary* returning to that solemnitie every yeare; And lastly, in that first part, this *Festivall* in particular, The *Feast of the Dedication of the Temple*: that sanctified the place, that ⁴⁰ shall determine that part. In the second part, *The holinesse of the person*, we shall carry your thoughts no farther, but upon this, That even this holy person *Jesus himselfe*, would have recourse to this place, thus dedicated, thus sanctified: And upon this, that hee would doe that especially at such times, as hee might countenance and authorise the Ordinances and Institutions of the Church, which had appointed this *Festivall*. And this, sayes the *Text*, he did in the *Winter*: First, *Etsi Hiems*, though it were Winter, hee came, and walked in the *Porch*, a little inconvenience kept him not off: And, *Quia Hiems*, because it was Winter, he walked in the *Porch* which ⁵⁰ was covered, not in the *Temple* which was open. So that heere with modestie, and without scandall he condemned not the favouring of a mans health, even in the *Temple*, *And it was at Ierusalem, the Feast of the Dedication; and it was Winter; and Jesus walked in the Temple in Salomons Porch*.

In our first part, *Holy Places*, wee looke first upon the times of our meeting there, *Holy dayes*. The root of all those is the *Sabboth*, that God planted himselfe, even in himselfe, in his owne rest, from the Creation. But the root, and those branches which grow from that root, are of the same nature, and the same name: And therefore as ⁶⁰ well of the flower, as of the root of a Rose, or of a Violet, we would say, This is a Violet, this is a Rose: so as well to other Feasts of *Gods* institution, as to the first *Sabboth*, *God* gives that name; hee cals those severall Feasts which he instituted, *Sabbothes*; enjoynes the same things to be done upon them, inflicts the same punishments upon

Levit. 23

them that breake them. So that there is one *Moralitie*, that is the soule of all *Sabboths*, of all *Festivalls*; howsoever all *Sabboths* have a ceremoniall part in them, yet there is a *Morall* part that inanimates them all; they are elemented of *Ceremonie*, but they [are] animated with *Moralitie*. And that *Moralitie* is in them all, *Rest*: for if *Adam* could

⁷⁰ name creatures according to their nature, *God* could name his *Sabboth* according to the nature of it, and *Sabboth* is *Rest*. It is a *Rest* of two kindes; our rest, and *Gods* rest. Our rest is the cessation from labour on those dayes; *Gods* rest, is our sanctifying of the day: for so in the religious sacrifice of *Noah*, when hee was come out of the *Arke*, *God* is said to have smelt, *Odorem quietis*, the savour of rest: upon those dayes we rest from serving the world, and *God* rests in our serving of him. And as *God* takes a tenth part of our goods, in *Tythes*, but yet he takes more too, he takes *Sacrifices*, so though he take a seventh part of our time in the *Sabboth*, yet he takes more too, he appoints

⁸⁰ other *Sabboths*, other *Festivalls*, that he may have more glory, and we more Rest: for all wherin those two concurre, are *Sabboths*. *Vacate* & *videte quoniam ego sum Dominus* sayes *God*. First *vacate*, rest from your bodily labours, distinguish the day, and then *videte*, come hither into the *Lords* presence, and worship the *Lord* your *God*, sanctifie the day: And in all the *Sabboths* there is still a *Cessate*, and a *Humiliate animas*, bodily rest, and spirituall sanctifying of the day. *Holy dayes* then, that is, dayes seposed for *holy uses*, and for the outward and publike service of *God*, are in *Nature*, and in that *Morall Law* which is written in the heart of man. That such dayes there must be is

⁹⁰ *Morall*; and this is *Morall* too, that all things in the service of *God* bee done in order; and this also, that obedience be given to Superiours, in those things wherein they are Superiors. And therfore it was to the *Iewes*, as well *Morall*, to observe the certaine dayes which *God* had determined, as to observe any at all. Not that *Gods* commandement limitting the dayes, infused a *Moralitie* into those particular dayes: for *Moralitie* is perpetuall; and if that had been *Morall*, it must have been so before, and it must bee so still; *Gods* determining the dayes did not infuse, not induce a *Moralitie* there, but it awakened a former *Moralitie*, that is, an obedience to the commandement, for ¹⁰⁰ that time, which *God* had appoynted that for them; for this *Obedience*, and *Order* is perpetuall, and so, *Morall*. We depart therfore

Genes. 8. [21]

Psal. 46.10

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from that error, which those ancient *Heretiques*, the *Ebionites* begun, and some laboured to refresh in *Saint Gregories* time, and which continues in practise in some places of the world still; To observe both the *Iewes Sabbath*, and the *Christians Satterday*, and *Sunday* too; because the *Sabboth* is called *Pactum sempiternum*: for to that any of *Saint Augustines Answeres* will serve; either that it is called everlasting, because it signified an everlasting rest; (where be pleased to note by the way, that *Holy dayes, Sabbaths*, are not onely instituted ¹¹⁰ for *Order*, but they have their *Mystery*, and their *Signification*; for *Holy dayes*, (as the Text calls them there) and *New Moones*, and the *Sabboth*, were but shadowes of things to come:) or else the *Sabboth* was called everlasting to them, because it bound them everlasting, and they might never intermit it, as some other ceremonies they might. But their *Sabboth*s bind not us; we depart from them who thinke so; and so we doe from them, who think we are bound to no *Festivalls* at all, or at least to none but the *Sabboth*. For *God* requires as much service from us, as from the *Iewes*, and to them hee enlarged his *Sabboth*s, and made them divers. But those were of ¹²⁰ *Gods* immediat institution: but all that the *Iewes* observed were not so; and that's our next consideration, *Festivalls* instituted by the *Church*.

At first, when *God* was alone, it is but *Faciamus*, let *us, us* the *Trinity* make man. This was, when *God* was, as we may say, in *Cælibatu*. But after *God* hath taken his *spouse*, maried the *Church*, then it is *Capite nobis vulpes*, doe you take the little Foxes, you the *Church*; for our vines have grapes; the vines are *ours*; *yours* and *mine*, sayes *Christ* to the *Church*: and therfore do you looke to them, as well as I. The Tables of the law *God* himselfe writ, and gave them ¹³⁰ written to *Moses*: he left none of that to him; not a power to make other Lawes like those lawes: but for the *Tabernacle*, which concern'd the *outward* worship of *God*, that was to be made by *Moses*, *Iuxta similitudinem*, according to the paterne which *God* had shewed him. *God* hath given the *Church* a paterne of *Holy dayes*, in those *Sabboth*s which hee himselfe instituted, and according to the paterne, the *Church* hath instituted more: and *Recte festa Ecclesiæ colunt, qui se Ecclesiæ filios recognoscunt*: They who disdaine not the name of *sonnes* of the *Church*, refuse not to celebrate the daies

Exod.
31. [16]

Col. 2.16

Sine
Mandato
[Gen. 1.26]
Cant. 2.15

Exod. 25.9

Aug.

which are of the *Churches* institution. There was no immediate com-

¹⁴⁰ mandement of *God* for that *Holy day*, which *Mordechai*, by his letters Ester 9.23 establish'd; but yet the *Iewes* undertooke to do as *Mordechai* had written to them. There was no such commandement for this *Holy day*, in the Text; and yet that was observed, as long as they had any beeing. And where the reason remaines, the practise may; The *Iewes* did, we may institute new *Holy dayes*. And not onely transitory daies, for a present thanks giving for a present benefit, but *Anniversaries*, perpetuall memorials of *Gods* deliverances. And thatts our next step.

Anni-
versaria

Both the *Holy dayes*, which we named before, which were instituted without speciall Commaundement from *God*, were so. That of

[2 Mac.
10.6-8]

¹⁵⁰ *Mordechai*, he commanded to be kept every yeare for two dayes, and this in the Text, *Iudas Maccabeus* commanded to be kept yearly for eight dayes, which was more then was appoynted to any of the *Holy dayes*, instituted by *God* himselfe, for the Festivall alone. According

Felix

to which paterne, one *Bishop of Rome*, ordained that the Festivals of the Dedication of *Churches* should bee yearlye celebrated in those places; and another extended the Festivall to eight dayes; at least at the first dedication thereof, if not every yeare: that *God* might not onely be put into the possession of the place, but setled in it. *God* by

Greg.

¹⁶⁰ *Moses* made the children of *Israel* a *Song*, because, as hee sayes, how soever they did by the Law, they would never forget that *Song*, and that *Song* should be his witnessse against them. Therefore would *God*

Deut. 31.19

have us institute solemne memorials of his great deliverances, that if when those dayes come about, we doe not glorifie him, that might aggravate our condemnation. Every fift of *August*, the *Lord* rises up, to hearken whether we meet to glorifie him, for his great deliverance of his *Majesty*, before he blest us with his presence in this Kingdome: and when he finds us zealous in our thankes for that, he gives us farther blessings. Certainly he is up as early every fift of *November*, to hearken if we meet to glorifie him for that deliverance still; and if

¹⁷⁰ hee should finde our zeale lesse then heretofore, hee would wonder why. *Gods* principall, his radicall *Holy day*, the *Sabbath*, had a weekly returne; his other *Sabbaths*, instituted by himselfe, and those which were instituted by those paternes, that of *Mordechai*, that of the *Maccabees*, and those of the *Christian Church*, They all return once a yeare. *God* would keepe his Courts once a yeare, and see

whether wee make our appearances as heeretofore; that if not, hee may know it. Feastes in generall, Feastes instituted by the *Church* alone, Feasts in their yearlye returne and observation, have their use, and particularly those Feasts of the Dedication of *Churches*, which
¹⁸⁰ was properly and literally the Feast of this *Text. It was the Feast of Dedication.*

As it diminishes not, prejudices not *Gods Eternitie*, that wee give him his *Quando*, certaine times of Invocation, *God* is not the lesse *yesterday, and to day, and the same for ever*, because wee meet here to day, and not yesterday, so it diminishes not, prejudices not *Gods Vbiquitie* and *Omnipresence*, that wee give him his *Vbi*, certaine places for Invocation. Thats not the lesse true, that *the most High dwells not in Temples made with handes*, though *God* accept at our hands our dedication of certaine places to his service, and manifest

¹⁹⁰ his working more effectually, more energetically in those places, then in any other. For when we pray, *Our Father which art in Heaven*, It is not (says *Saint Chrysostome*) that wee deny him to bee heere, where wee kneele when we say that Prayer, but it is that we acknowledge him to be there, where he can graunt, and accomplish our prayer. It is as *Origen* hath very well expressed it, *Vt in melioribus mundi requiramus Deum*: That still wee looke for *God* in the best places; looke for him, as he heares our petitions, here, in the best places of this world, in his House, in the *Church*; looke for him as he graunts our petition, in the best place of the next world, at the

²⁰⁰ right hand, and in the bosome of the *Father*. When *Moses* sayes that *the word of God is not beyond Sea*, he addes, *It is not so beyond Sea, as that thou must not have it without sending thither*. When he sayes there, *it is not in heaven*, he adds, *not so in heaven, as that one must goe up, before hee can have it*. The word of *God*, is beyond Sea, the true word, truly preached in many true *Churches* there, but yet we have it here, within these Seas too; *God* is in Heaven, but yet hee is here, within these walles too. And therefore the impietie of the *Manicheans* exceeded all the *Gentiles*, who concluded the *God* of the *Old Testament* to be an impotent, an unperfect *God*, because hee com-
²¹⁰ maunded *Moses* first to make him a *Tabernacle*, and then *Salomon* to make him a *Temple*, as though he needed a House. *God* does not need a house, but man does need, that *God* should have a House.

Encænia
 Temple
 [Heb. 13.8]

Acts 7.48

[Mat. 6.9]
 Chrysos-
 tome

Origen

Deut. 30.13

[Joh. 1.38]

And therefore the first question, that *Christ*s first *Disciples* asked of him, was *Magister, ubi habitas*, they would know his standing house, where he hath promised to bee alwaies within, and where at the ringing of the Bell, some body comes to answere you, to take your errand, to offer your Prayers to *God*, to returne his pleasure in the preaching of his Word to you. The many and heavy Lawes, with which sacred and secular stories abound, against the prophanation

²²⁰ of places, appropriated to *Gods* service, and that religious custome, that passed almost through all civill Nations, that an oath, which was the bond between man, and man, had the stronger Obligation, if that were taken in the *Church*, in the presence of *God*, (for such was the practise of *Rome* towards her enemies, *Tango aras mediosque ignes*, to make their vowes of hostility in the *Church*, and at time of divine Service, (and such is their practise still, they seale their Treasons in the *Sacrament*) such was *Romes* practise towards others, and such was the practise of others towards *Rome*, (for so *Anniball* sayes, that his father *Amilcar* swore him at the *Altar*, that he should never

²³⁰ bee reconciled to *Rome*,) And such is your practise still, as often as you meet here, you renew your band to *God*, that you will never bee reconciled to the Superstitions of *Rome*) all these, and all such as these, and such as these are infinite, heap up testimonies, that even in *Nature* there is a disposition to apply, and appropriate certaine places to *Gods* service. And this impression in nature is illustrated in the Law, as the time, so the place is distinguished, *Yee shall keepe my Sabboths*, there is the *time*, and *you shall reverence my Sanctuary*, there is the place. But that they may be reverenced, that they may bee Sanctuaries, they are to be sanctified; and thats the *Encænia*, the

²⁴⁰ Dedication.

Levi. 19.30

Encænia

Even in those things which accrue unto *God*, and become his, by another title, then as he is Lord of all, by *Creation*, that is, by appropriation, by dedication to his use and Service, There is a *Lay Dedication*, and an *Ecclesiasticall Dedication*. I hope the distinction of *Laytie*, and *Clergie*, the words, scandalize no man. *Luther*, and *Calvin* too might have just cause to decline the words, as they did; when so much was over-attributed to that *Clergie* which they intend, as that they were so *Sors Domini*, the *Lords portion*, as that the world had no portion in them, and yet they had the greatest portion of the

²⁵⁰ world; and howe little soever they had to doe with *God*, yet no *State*, no *King* might have any thing to doe with them. But, as long as we declare, that by the *Layetie* we intend the people glorifying *God* in their secular callings, and by the *Clergie*, persons seposed by his ordinance, for spiritual functions, The *Layetie* no farther remoov'd then the *Clergie*, The *Clergie* no farther entitled then the *Layetie*, in the blood of *Christ Jesus*, neither in the effusion of that blood upon the *Crosse*, nor in the participation of that blood in the *Sacrament*, and that an equall care in *Clergie*, and *Layetie*, of doing the duties of their severall callings, gives them an equall interest in the joyes, and glory

²⁶⁰ of heaven, I hope no man is scandaliz'd with the names. The *Lay Dedication* then is, the voluntary surrendring of this piece of ground thus built, to *God*. For we must say, as *Saint Peter* said to *Ananias*, *Whiles it remain'd, was that not your owne?* and now, when that is raised (saving that there was *Dedicatio Intentionalis*, a purpose from the beginning to appropriate it, to this holy use) might you not, till this houre, have made this roome your Hall, if you would? But this is your Dedication, that you have cheerfully pursued your first holy purposes, and deliver now into the hands of this servant of *God*, the *Right Reverend Father the Bishop of this See*, a place to be presented

²⁷⁰ to *God* for you, by him, not misbecomming the *Majestie* of the great *God*, who is pleased to dwell thus amongst us. What was spent in *Salomons Temple* is not told us. What was prepared, before it was begun, is such a summe, as certainly, if all the *Christian Kings* that are, would send in all that they have, at once, to any one service, all would not equall that summe. They gave there, till they who had the overseeing therof, complain'd of the abundance, and proclaim'd an abstinence. Yet there was one, who gave more then all they; for *Christ* sayes the poore widdow gave more then all the rest, because she gave all she had. There is a way of giving more then she gave;

²⁸⁰ and I, who by your favours was no stranger to the beginning of this work, and an often refresher of it to your memories, and a poore assistant in laying the first stone, the materiall stone, as I am now, a poore assistant again in this laying of this first formall Stone, the Word and Sacrament, and shall ever desire to be so in the service of this place, I, I say, can truly testifie, that you (speaking of the whole Societie together of the publike stock, the publike treasury, the

Acts 5.4

[Mark
12.43]

[Prov. 14.10]

publike revenue) you gave more then the widow, who gave all, for you gave more then all. *A stranger shall not entermeddle with our joy*, as *Salomon* saies: strangers shall not know, how ill we were ²⁹⁰ provided for such a work, when we begun it, nor with what difficulties we have wrastled in the way; but strangers shall know to *Gods* glory, that you have perfected a work of full three times as much charge, as you proposed for it at beginning: so bountifully doth *God* blesse, and prosper intentions to his glory, with enlarging your hearts within, and opening the hearts of others, abroad. And this is *your Dedication*, and that which without prejudice, and for distinction, wee call a *Lay Dedication*, though from religious hearts, and hands.

Ecclesi-
astica

There is another *Dedication*; that we have call'd *Ecclesiasticall*, ³⁰⁰ appointed by *God*, so as *God* speaks in the ordinances, and in the practise of his *Church*. Hæreditary Kings are begotten and conceiv'd the naturall way; but that body which is so begotten of the blood of Kings, is not a King, no nor a man, till there bee a Soule infused by *God*. Here is a *House*, a *Child* conceiv'd (wee may say borne) of *Christian parents*, of persons religiously disposed to *Gods* glory; but yet, that was to receive another influence, an inanimation, a quickening, by another Consecration. *Oportet denuo nasci*, holds even in the children of *Christian parents*; when they are borne, they must be borne again by *Baptisme*: when this place is thus given by you, for

[Joh. 3.7]

³¹⁰ *God, oportet denuo dari*, it must be given againe to *God*, by him, who receives it of you. It must; there seems a necessitie to be implied, because even in *Nature*, there was a consecration of holy places; *Iacob* in his journey, before the *Law*, consecrated even that stone, which he set up, in intention to build *God* a House there. In the time of the *Law*, this Feast of *Dedication*, was in practise; first in the *Tabernacle*; that and all that appertain'd to it, was annointed, and sanctified: So was *Salomons Temple* after; so was that which was reedified after their return from *Babylon*, and so was this in the *Text*, after the Heathen had defiled and profan'd the *Altar* thereof, and a new one ³²⁰ was erected by *Iudas Maccabeus*. Thus in *Nature*, thus in *Law*, and thus far thus in the *Gospell* too: that as sure as wee are that the people of *God* had *materiall Churches* in the *Apostles* first times, so sure we are, that those places had a *Sanctitie* in them. If that place of

Gen. 28.22

Num. 7.1

Saint Paul, Despise yee the Church of God? be to be understood of the locall, of the materiall *Church*, and not of the *Congregation*, you see there is a rebuke for the prophanation of the place, and consequently a sanctity in the place. But assoone as the *Church* came evidently by the favour of *Princes*, to have liberty to make lawes, and power to see them practised, it was never pretermitted to consecrate

³³⁰ the places. Before that, we find an ordinance by Pope *Hyginus* (he was within 150. after *Christ*, and the eighth *Bishop* of that *See* after *Saint Peter*) even of particulars in the Consecrations. But after, *Athanasius* in his *Apologie to Constantius*, makes that protestation for all *Christians*, *That they never meet in any Church, till it bee consecrated*: And *Constantine* the *Emperour* least hee should be at any time unprovided of such a place, (as we read in the *Ecclesiasticall* story) in all his warres, carried about with him a *Tabernacle* which was consecrated: In *Nature*, in the *Law*, in the *Gospell*, in *Precept*, in *Practise*, these Consecrations are established.

³⁴⁰ This they did. But to what use did they consecrate them? not to one use only; and therfore it is a frivilous contention, whether *Churches* be for *preaching*, or for *praying*. But if *Consecration* be a kind of *Christning* of the *Church*, and that at the *Christning* it have a name, wee know what name *God* hath appoynted for his House, *Domus mea, Domus orationis vocabitur. My House shall bee called the House of Prayer*. And how impudent and inexcusale a falsehood is that in *Bellarmino*, That the *Lutherans* and *Calvinistes* doe admit *Churches* for *Sermons* and *Sacraments*, *Sed reprehendunt quod fiant ad orandum*, They dislike that they should be for *Prayer*: when as

³⁵⁰ *Calvin* himselfe, (who may seeme to bee more subject to this reprehension then *Luther*) (for there is no such *Liturgie* in the *Calvinists Churches*, as in the *Lutheran*) yet in that very place which *Bellarmino* cites, sayes *Conceptæ preces in Ecclesia Deo gratæ*; and for singing in *Churches*, (which in that place of *Calvin* cannot be only meant of *Psalmes*, for it was of that manner of singing, which being formerly in use in the *Easterne churches*, *S. Ambrose*, in his time, brought into the *Church of Millan*, and so it was derivd over the *Western churches*, which was the modulation and singing of *Versicles* and *Antiphons* and the like) this singing, sayes *Calvin*, was in use amongst the

³⁶⁰ *Apostles* themselves, *Et sanctissimum & saluberrimum est institutum.*

Athanas.

Vsus

[Isa. 56.7]

l. 3.20 §32

It was a most holy and most profitable Institution. Still consider Consecration to be a *Christning* of the place; and though we find them often called *Templa propter Sacrificia*, for our sacrifices of praier, and of praise, and of the merits of *Christ*, and often called *Ecclesiæ ad conciones*, Churches, in respect of congregations, for preaching, and often call'd *Martyria*, for preserving with respect, and honor the bodies of *Martyrs*, and other *Saints of God*, there buried, and often, often, by other names, *Dominica*, *Basilica*, and the like, yet the name that *God* gave to his house, is not *Concionatorium*, nor *Sacramen-*

³⁷⁰ *tarium*, but *Oratorium*, the House of Prayer. And therefore without

[1 Cor. 9.16]

prejudice to the other functions too, (for as there is a *væ* vpon me, *Si non Euangelizavero*, If I preach not my selfe, so may that *væ* be multiplied upon any, who would draw that holy ordinance of *God* into a dis-estimation, or into a slacknesse,) let us never intermit that dutie, to present our selves to *God* in these places, though in these places there bee then, no other Service, but Common prayer. For then doth the House answere to that name, which *God* hath given it, if it be a house of Prayer.

Modus

Thus then were these places to receive a double Dedication; a Dedication, which was a Donation from the *Patron*, a Dedication which was a consecration from the *Bishop*, for to his person, and to that ranke in the *Hierarchy* of the *Church*, the most ancient Canons limited it; and to those purposes, which wee have spoken of; of which, Prayer is so farre from being none, as that there is none above it. A little should be said, (before wee shut up this part) of the manner, the forme of Consecrations. In which, in the *Primitive Church*, assoone as Consecrations came into free use, they were full of *Ceremonies*. And many of those *Ceremonies* deriv'd from the *Iewes*: and not unlawfull, for that. The *Ceremonies* of the *Iewes*, which had their foundation in the prefiguration of *Christ*, and were types of him, were unlawfull after *Christ* was come; because the use of them, then, implied a deniall or a doubt of his being come. But those *Ceremonies*, which, though the *Iewes* used them, had their foundation in *Nature*, as bowing of the knee, lifting up the eyes, and hands, and many, very many others, which either testified their devotion that did them, or exalted their devotion that sawe them done, are not therefore excluded the *Church*, because they were in use amongst the *Iewes*. That

³⁸⁰

Pope whom we named before, *Hyginus*, the eighth after *Saint Peter*, he instituted, *Ne Basilica sine Missa consecretur. That no Church bee consecrated without a Masse*. If this must binde us, to a *Masse* of the present *Romane Church*, it were hard; and yet not very hard truely; for they are easily had. But that word, *Masse*, is in *Saint Ambrose*, in *Saint Augustine*, in some very ancient *Councils*; and surely intends nothing, to this purpose, but the Service, the Common Prayer of the *Church*, then in use, there. And when the Bishop *Panigarola* sayes in his Sermon vpon *Whitsunday*, that the *Holy Ghost* found the blessed *Virgin* and the *Apostles* at *Masse*, I presume hee meanes no more, then that they were mett at such publique Prayer, as at those times they might make. Sure *Pope Clemens*, and *Pope Hyginus* ⁴¹⁰ meane the same thing, when one sayes *Missa consecretur*, and the other *Divinis Precibus*: One sayes, *Let the Consecration bee with a Masse*, the other, *with Divine Service*; the *Liturgie*, the Divine Service was then the *Masse*. In a word, a constant forme of Consecrations, wee finde none that goes through our *Ritualls*: the *Ceremonies* were still more or lesse, as they were more or lesse obnoxious, or might bee subject to scandalize, or to be mis-interpreted. And therefore I am not heere either to direct, or so much as to remember, that which appertaines to the manner of these Consecrations; onely in concurring in that, which is the Soule of all, humble and heartie prayer, that ⁴²⁰ *God will heare his Servants* in this place, I shall not offend to say, that I am sure my zeale is inferiour to none. And more I say not of the first Part, The *Holy place*; and but a little more, of the other; though at first it were proposed for an equall part, *The Holy Person*, That at the Feast of the Dedication, *Jesus walked in the Temple in Salmons Porch*.

In this second part, wee did not spread the words, nor shed our considerations upon many particulars: the first was, that even *Jesus himselfe* had recourse to this *Holy place*. In the new *Ierusalem*, in *Heaven*, there is no *Temple*. *I saw no Temple there* sayes *Saint Iohn*: ⁴³⁰ *for the Lord God Almighty, and the Lambe are the Temple of it*. In Heaven, where there is no danger of falling, there is no need of assistance. Heere the *Temple* is called *Gnazar*, that is *Auxilium*: A Helper: the strongest that is, needs the helpe of the *Church*: And it is called *Sanctificium*, by *Saint Hierom*, a place that is not onely

2 Part
Jesus in
Templo
Apo. 21.22

2 Paral. 4.7
Psal. 78.69

made holy by Consecration, but that makes others holy by GOD in it. And therefore *Christ* himselfe, whose person and presence might consecrate the *Sanctum Sanctorum*, would yet make his often repaire to this *Holy place*; not that hee needed this subsidie of *Locall holiness* in himselfe, but that his example might bring others who did

⁴⁴⁰ neede it; and those who did not; and, that even his owne Preaching might have the benefite and the blessing of *Gods Ordinance* in that place, hee sayes of himselfe, *Quotidie apud vos sedebam docens in Templo*, and *Semper docui in Synagoga, & in Templo*; as in the *Actes*, the *Angell* that had delivered the *Apostles* out of prison, sends them to *Church, Stantes in Templo loquimini plebi*. The *Apostles* were sent to preach, but to preach in the *Temple*, in the place appropriated and consecrated for that holy use and employment.

Tempus

He came to this place, and he came at those times, which no immediate command of *God*, but the *Church* had instituted. *Facta sunt*

⁴⁵⁰ *Encænia*, sayes the Text; It was the Feast of the Dedication. Wee know what Dedication this was; That of *Salomon* was much greater; A Temple built where none was before; That of *Esdras* at the returne was much greater then this, An intire reedification of that demolished Temple, where it was before. This was but a zealous restoring of an Altar in the *Temple*: which having beene prophaned by the *Gentiles*, the *Iewes* themselves threw downe, and erected a new, and dedicated that. *Salomons* Dedication is called a *Feast*, a *Holy day*: by the very same name that the *Feast* of unleavened bread, and the *Feast* of the *Tabernacle* is called so often in *Scripture*, which is

² *Chr. 5.3*

⁴⁶⁰ *Kag*. The Dedication of *Ezra* is sufficiently declared to bee a solemne *Feast* too. But neither of these *Feastes*, though of farre greater Dedications, were *Anniversarie*; neither commanded to be kept every yeare;

and yet this, which was so much lesser then the others, the *Church* had put under that Obligation, to bee kept every yeare; and *Christ* himselfe contemnes not, condemnes not, disputes not the institution of the *Church*. But as for matter of doctrine hee sends even his owne *Disciples*, to them who sate in *Moses Chayre*, so for matter of Ceremony, he brings even his owne person, to the celebrating, to the authorizing, to the countenancing of the Institutions of the ⁴⁷⁰ *Church*, and rests in that.

[Mat. 23.2]

Now it was Winter, sayes the Text: *Christ* came *etsi Hyems*,

Etsi Hyems

though it were Winter; so small an inconvenience kept him not off. Beloved, it is not alway colder upon *Sunday*, then upon *Satterday*; nor at any time colder in the *Chappell*, then in *Westminster Hall*. A thrust keepes some off in *Summer*; and colde in *Winter*: and there are more of both these in other places, where for all that, they are more content to be. Remember that *Peter* was warming himselfe, and hee denyed *Christ*. They who love a warme bed, let it bee a warme Studie, let it bee a warme profit, better then this place, they deny

⁴⁸⁰ CHRIST in his Institution. That therefore which CHRIST sayes,

Pray that your flight bee not in the Winter, nor upon the Sabbath; we may apply thus, Pray that upon the *Sabbath* (I tolde you at first, what were *Sabbaths*,) the Winter make you not flie, not abstaine from this place. *Put off thy shooes*, sayes *God* to *Moses*, for the place is holy ground. When *Gods* ordinance by his *Church* call you to this holy place, put off those shoes, all those earthly respects, of *ease or profit*, *Christ* came, *Etsi Hyems*.

But then, *Quia Hyems*, Because it was Winter, Hee did walke in *Salomons Porch*, which was covered, not in *Atrio*, in that part of the

⁴⁹⁰ *Temple*, which was open, and expos'd to the weather. We doe not say, that infirme and weak men, may not favour themselves, in a due care of their health, in these places. That he who is not able to raise himselfe, must alwayes stand at the *Gospell*, or bow the knee at the name of *Iesus*, or stay some whole houres, altogether uncovered heere, if that increase infirmities of that kinde. And yet Courts of *Princes*, are strange *Bethesdaes*; how quickly they recover any man that is brought into that *Poole*? How much a little change of ayre does? and how well they can stand, and stand bare many houres, in the *Privy Chamber*, that would melt and flowe out into *Rhumes*, and *Catarrs*, in

⁵⁰⁰ a long *Gospell* heere? But, *Citra Scandalum*, a man may favour himselfe in these places: but yet this excuses not the irreverent manner which hath overtaken us in all these places; That any *Master* may thinke himselfe to have the same libertie heere, as in his owne house, or that that *Servant*, that never puts on his hat in his *Masters* presence all the weeke, on *Sunday*, when hee and his *Master* are in *Gods* presence, should have his hat on perchance before his *Masters*. *Christ* shall make *Master* and *Servant* equall; but not yet; not heere; nor ever, equall to himselfe, how ever they become equall to one another. *Gods*

Mat. 24.20

Exod. 3.5

*Quia
Hyems*

service is not a continual *Martyrdome*, that a man must bee heere,
⁵¹⁰ and here in such a posture, and such a manner, though hee dye for it; but *Gods House* is no *Ordinary* neither; where any man may pretend to doe what he will, and every man may doe, what any man does. *Christ* slept in a storme; I dare not make that generall; let all doe so. *Christ* favoured himselfe in the *Church*; I dare not make that generall neither: to make all places equall, or all persons equall in any place.

Basil

Tis time to end. *Saint Basill* himselfe, as acceptable as hee was to his Auditory, in his second Sermon upon the 14. *Psalme*, takes knowledge that hee had preached an houre, and therefore broke off: I see
⁵²⁰ it is a Compasse, that all Ages have thought sufficient. But as we have contracted the consideration of great *Temples*, to this lesser *Chappell*, so let us contract the *Chappell* to our selves: *Et facta sint Encænia nostra*, let this be the Feast of the Dedication of our selves to *God*. *Christ* calls himselfe a *Temple*, *Solvite templum hoc*: Destroy this *Temple*. And *Saint Paul* calls us so twice; *Know ye not that ye are the Temples of the Holy Ghost?* *Facta sint Encænia nostra*: *Encænia* signifies *Renovationem*, a renewing: and *Saint Augustine* sayes that in his time, *Si quis nova tunica indueretur, Encæniare dicere*. *If any man put on a new garment, hee called it by that name, Encænia sua*. Much more is it so, if wee renew in our selves the *Image of God*, and put off the *Olde man*, and put on the *Lord Jesus Christ*. This is truly *Encæniare*, to dedicate, to renew our selves: and so *Nazianzen* in a *Sermon*, or *Oration*, upon the like occasion as this, calls, *Conversionem nostram, Encænia*, our turning to *God*, in a true repentance, or renewing, our dedication. Let mee charge your memories, but with this note more, That when *God* forbad *David* the building of an

John 2.19
1 Cor. 3.16
and 6.19

Aug.

Nazian.

[1 Chron.
22.8]

House, *Because hee was a man of blood*, at that time *David* had not embrued his hands in *Vriahs* blood; nor shed any blood, but lawfully in just warres; yet even that made him uncapable of this favour to
⁵³⁰ provide *God* a house. Some callings are in their nature more obnoxious, and more exposed to sinne, then others are: accompanied with more temptations; and so retard us more in holy duties. And therefore as there are particular sinnes that attend certaine *places*, certaine *ages*, certaine *complexions*, and certaine *vocations*, let us watch our selves in all those, and remember that not only the highest

degrees of those sinns, but any thing that conduces therunto, profanes the Consecration, and Dedication of this *Temple*, our selves, to the service of *God*; it annihilates our repentance, and frustrates our former reconciliations to him. *Almighty God worke in you a perfitt*
⁵⁵⁰ *dedication of your selves at this time; that so, receiving it from hands*
dedicated to God, hee whose holy Office this is, may present accept-
ably this House to God in your behalves, and establish an assurance to
you, that God will be alwayes present with you and your Succession
in this place. Amen.

*Textual Notes to the Sermons
in Volume IV*

LIST OF SYMBOLS USED IN TEXTUAL NOTES

<i>F</i>	Folio edition. The Table of Contents on pp. vii–viii indicates which of the three Folios, <i>LXXX Sermons</i> , <i>Fifty Sermons</i> , or <i>XXVI Sermons</i> , is symbolized by “F” for any particular sermon.
<i>Q</i>	Quarto edition.
<i>Qa, Qb, Qc</i>	First, second, or third issue (1622) of the Sermon on <i>Judges</i> 5.20 (No. 7 of this volume).
<i>Q1</i>	First quarto (1622) of the Sermon on <i>Acts</i> 1.8 (No. 10 of this volume).
<i>Q2</i>	Second quarto (1624) of the sermon just mentioned.
<i>Al</i>	Alford’s six-volume edition of Donne’s <i>Works</i> (1839).
<i>E</i>	Ellesmere Manuscript.
<i>M</i>	Wilfred Merton Manuscript.
<i>P</i>	St. Paul’s Cathedral Manuscript.

For descriptions of these printed texts and manuscripts see the Introductions “On the Bibliography of the Sermons” and “On the Manuscripts” in Volume I of the present edition. For a description of the recently discovered Ellesmere Manuscript see Appendix A of Volume II, pp. 365 ff.

Notes to Sermon No. 1

[Textually this sermon is interesting, for it is the only one in the *LXXX Sermons* which needs to be supplemented in several places by words or clauses found in *E* and *M*, the two MSS which contain it. In other sermons, such as that on *Psa. 144.15*, the MSS contain one or two clauses which apparently were in Donne's original draft but were excised in his revision of the sermon for the text which appears in the Folio. We therefore have printed them only in the Textual Notes, not in the sermon itself. Here, however, there seems to have been no revision. Four of the clauses must have belonged to the sermon as Donne originally wrote it, and the text in *F* must have been printed from a manuscript in which the scribe through carelessness omitted the words. We have therefore in these cases printed the additional words from *E* and *M* in the text, as we promised to do in our Introduction to the Text in Volume I, p. 72.¹

The fact that *F* in this particular sermon must be supplemented by the agreement of *E* and *M* makes us ask whether in a number of variants additional to these four places we should rely on the text of *E*, *M*. We have examined these variants very carefully, and have preferred the reading of *E*, *M*, in lines 416, 417, 459, 591, 611, but the general conclusion of G. R. Potter, who was responsible for the editing of this sermon, was that on the whole, with these exceptions, the text of *F* was to be preferred.]

LINE

- 4 the Eve betimes] betimes the Eve *M*
- 6 selves] soules *E*
- 6 which] *om. M*
- 13 wipe all] wipe away all the *M*
- 14 righteous, the] righteous, this *M*
- 25 therefore that] that therefore *E, M*
- 43 our weapons] our owne weapons *M*
- 63 That] That even *M*

¹ There we stated that the words were supplied from *M*, without mention of *E*. This was because *E* was discovered by Sir Geoffrey Keynes after the Introduction "On the Text" had been written, while Vol. I was passing through the press. See the last-minute Editors' Note on p. ix of Vol. I. This fact explains our description of *M*, in Vol. I, pp. 68-69, as "the best of all the extant manuscripts." *M* is certainly our most important manuscript, for it contains sixteen sermons by Donne as against the eight of *D*, *E*, and *L*; but in some places the text of *E* must be preferred to it, as we have done in lines 90-91, 147-148, of the present sermon.

LINE

- 63 *mg.* *Vestig. 1*] *Vestigium primum E, M* [in *E*, placed in body of of text as a heading; so also in lines 122, "Vestig. 2," 197, "Vestig. 3"]
- 81 *mg.* *Dan. 2.32* : *Dan. 2.31 F*
- 85 able men; Men] able men, and lastly men *M*
- 90-91 soule, head and members must grow together, one sensitive soule, all *E, M* [*M* reads "and" for "one"] : soule, all *F*
NOTE. Evidently in the MS which was the source of *F*, the clause "head...soule" was omitted by homœoteleuton. The meaning of the sentence would be clearer if we replaced the comma of the MSS after "together" by a semicolon.
- 92 one Immortall *E, M* : the Immortall *F*
- 96 other : others *F*
- 96 Mens men] men *M*
- 97-98 have admitted distractions and *E, M* : *om. F*
- 105 or] nor *M*
- 114 such] such like *M*
- 129 upon the] upon *M* : himself upon *E*
- 147-148 and find there the peace of conscience, and truelie thou hast *E, M* [*M* omits "thou hast"] : and then *F*
- 154 chooses] chooseth *E*
NOTE. There are numerous other examples where the scribe of *E* has altered "-s" to "-th" in verbal endings, as in lines 158, "doth," 166, "expresseth," etc.
- 157 holy Ghost] highest *M*
- 159 in the *M, Al* : in *F*
- 171 *mg.* *Esay 13.20-21* : *Esay 13.19 F*
- 171 no] none *M*
- 173-174 Not onely... depopulator : *Not onely... depopulator F*
- 173 Merchant] Merchants *E*
- 173-174 depopulator] depopulation *M*
- 174-176 *none but Owles, and Ostriches, and Satyres*, Indeed God knowes what, *Ochim*, and *Ziim*, words which truly we cannot translate]
- NOTE. Donne has taken *Ziim* and *Ochim* from the margin of A.V., which renders them as "wild beasts of the desert" and "doleful creatures."
- 175 truly we cannot] wee cannot truelye *M*
- 189 vulgat] vulgar *E, M* (so also in line 330)

LINE

- 197 *mg.* Apoc. 12.7 *E* : *om. F, M*
- 197-198 Now there is noe warre in heaven. There was warre in heaven,
sayes St. John, *E, M* [*E* has “saith” for “sayes”] : *om. F*
- 203-204 accompany even] even, accompany *M*
- 204 in heaven] *om. E, M*
- 208 which are] *om. E, M*
- 209-210 He that . . . Superstition] *om. E*
- 235 *mg.* *M* supplies “Vestigium 4^m”
- 240 are] bee *M*
- 243 one] any one *M*
- 247 be] beast *E, M*
- 255 to be] till they be *M*
- 260 those] theis *E*
- 260 here] And here *M*
- 262 not] *om. E, M*
- 272 sayes S. Hierome] Hieron. *E* : *om. M*
- 275 Eternall] eternally *M*
- 280 *mg.* Seneca] *om. E, M*
- 283 *Tributum*] *om. M*
- 288 death to] death to their *M*
- 293 that] it *M*
- 294 nor] or *M*
- 299 sweeps] swept *E* : sweep *M*
- 302 the yeomanly, this the Plebeian bran] *om. M, but leaves a space*
- 302 bran? : bran. *F*
- 303 *mg.* 2 Kings 9 *E* : *om. F*
- 312 every] *om. M*
- 312 An] And *M*
- 313 himself] *om. E*
- 330-332 so much the vulgat Edition seemes to intimate, when . . . that
reades it, *Vitam & bonum*]
- Note. Donne was evidently using an early edition, such as that
of 1564 or 1578, which read *bonum*, whereas in the Clementine
recension of 1592 *mortem* became the standard Vulgate reading.
- 336 *mg.* *M* supplies “Vestigium 5^m” before “Hostis”
- 336 not] *om. M*
- 345 doe] doth *M*
- 350 calumniators, and accusers] Accuser and Calumniatours *M*
- 359 Death] he *E, M*

LINE

- 360 that] *om. E, M*
 366 were] was *M*
 372 subministration] administration *M*
 379 *mg.* *M* supplies “6^m Vestigium”
 382 unto] till *M*
 389–390 and I . . . side] *om. M*
 399 and] *om. E, M*
 410 *Who*] which *M*
 415 *mg.* *M* supplies “Vestigium 7^m”
 416 this *E, M* : the *F*
 417 everlastingnesse *E, M* : everlasting end *F*
 425 present] present tense *M*
 432 *mg.* *M* supplies “Resurrection” in place of “1”
 455 that which] what *M*
 459 dispersion *E, M* : desperation *F*
 477 the more] *om. E*
 484 *mg.* Psal. 46.9 *M* : *om. F*
 497 in all . . . deaths] *om. E*
 508 *Austine*] Augustine *E*
 519 upon the] on *M*
 520 *mg.* Esay 42.5 : Esay 45.5 *F*
 539 alone] above *E*
 564 that] it *E*
 565 the last] this *M*
 565 *A morte*] *om. M*
 566 us, as] us, us as *M*
 568 state] estate *M*
 570 Prophet speaks] prophets speake *E*
 577 an ingenuous Jesuit] ingenious *E, M*
 580 which was] *om. M*
 587–588 so it . . . resurrection] *om. M*
 591 the] that *E, M*
 591 yet if *E, M* : if *F*
 600 that belief] the beliefe *E, M*
 611 Author *E, M* : Anchor *F*
- NOTE. In the present context “Author” makes better sense than “Anchor.” Christ is called “the Author of eternal salvation” in *Heb. 5.9*, but never “Anchor of salvation” in Scripture, though hope is called “an anchor of the soul” in *Heb. 6.19*.

LINE

- 613 *mg.* Gen. 3.19 : Gen. 3.17 *F*
 617-618 exhibited, a promise allready performed unto *M* : exhibited
 to *F, E*
 619 (saies S. *Chrysostome*) *om. M*
 627 this enemy] this last enemy *M*
 631 could] would *M*
 634 upon] in *M*
 636 *Credo*] Creed *M*
 638 would] should *M*
 639 lips] *om. M*
 644 will] would *M*
 646 this] our *M*
 646 of] in *M*

Notes to Sermon No. 2

- 97 *mg.* Psal. 56.8 : Psal. 56.9 *F*
 118 *me to speak F corr.* : *to me speak F originally*
 119-120 } *mg.* } Psal. 13.3 : Psal. 13.1 *F*
 173 them) : them; *F*
 210 then by that] than that by *Al*
 218 Part. : Part, *F*
 224 that Church walls, in which]
 NOTE. This is an elliptical expression for “the walls of that
 Church, in which.”
 258-259 } *mg.* } 1 Sam. 26 : 2 Sam. 26 *F*
 315-320 (For, if Christ . . . our sins)]
 NOTE. Alford emends by omitting the round bracket before
 “saies” and supplying one before “Because” in line 316. He
 omits the round brackets before and after “upon the Crosse.”
 Though the punctuation of *F* is difficult at first sight, we have
 retained it, because if the quotation is cut off from the rest of
 the sentence the comments upon it appear to apply to the first
 clause of the sentence.
 334 resurrection, : resurrection *F*

LINE

496 endeavorous]

NOTE. This very rare word, which means 'zealous, full of endeavour,' occurs also in Donne's *Essays in Divinity*, ed. Simpson, p. 16, line 23. No other example of the word seems to be known, though the adverb "endeavorously" is found in a work by Beard (1597). See *N.E.D.*

457 done, sayes he : done says he *F*486 *In ictu* : *Inictu F*567 *Dionyse* : *Dionyse, F*

583 consist]

NOTE. The word here used in the obsolete and unusual sense of 'stop short.' The only examples quoted by the *N.E.D.* are both taken from Donne—one of them from *Ignatius his Conclave*.

586 *Magnificare misericordiam*]

NOTE. This is a considerable distortion of the Vulgate reading: "... et confitebor nomini tuo super misericordia tua et veritate tua, quoniam magnificasti super omne nomen sanctum tuum."

595 *in statu* : *in statu F*616 *mg.* Hierosolym. : Hiesolom. *F*

NOTE. "Hierosolym." is an abbreviation of "Hierosolymitanus" [i.e., of Jerusalem], and refers to St. Cyril, who was so called to distinguish him from St. Cyril of Alexandria.

690 and : and, *F*711 *mg.* Heb. 11.40 : Heb. 11.39741 Star : Sar *F*762 *mg.* Luke 24.51 : Luke 24.50 *F*771 *mg.* Mat. 17.4 : Mat. 17:14 *F*900 yet Rhetorique : yet Rherorique *F*915 *to you that are troubled, rest* : *to you, that are troubled rest F*

Notes to Sermon No. 3

6 says] sayth *P*

NOTE. This is the first of many instances in which *P* changes the "-s" verbal forms to "-th." They will not be recorded hereafter, unless *M* agrees with *P*.

12 these] the *M*

LINE

- 15 *the glory of*] *om. P*
 24 *would*] *yett would P*
 31 *of*] *out of M*
 35 *resolv'd* : *ressolv'd F*
 41-42 *Christ Jesus*] *Jesus Christ M*
 53-56 *in the face . . . God*] *om. P*

NOTE. This is a case of homoeoteleuton, to which *P* is prone.

- 57 *Christ*; : *Christ. F*
 67 *in the*] *the M, P*
 70 *Christ Jesus*] *Jesus Christ P*
 73-74 *and it is the next world it self*] *om. M, P*
 80 *such*] *with such M* : *of such P*
 86 *your*] *our M, P*
 101 *points*] *point M, P*
 109 *I consider lastly*] *lastly I consider M, P*
 110 *so*] *so well P*
 125 *Christ Jesus*] *Jesus Christ M, P* (so also in line 137)
 133 *and*] *and in a M, P*
 138 *and live; and live*] *and live M*
 142 *prove*] *probe M*
 144 *Apostle P, Al* : *Apostles F*
 156 *this first M, P* : *this F*
 157 *as for M, P* : *for F*

- 164, 170 *Cerdon* : *Cordon F* : *Cerdo Al*

NOTE. Cerdon or Cerdon (Gk. *Kέρδων*) was a heretic who lived in the first half of the second century A.D. Donne mentions him elsewhere (Vol. VI, No. 5, lines 329-330): "Cerdon and Marcion said, That he lived and dyed, but *in Phantasmate*."

- 193 *is*] *Hee is M, P*
 196 *one hundred thousand*] *a 100^m M* : *a 100 P*
 218 *is a God M, P* : *is God F*
 218 *Rebellions, a*] *Rebells, ours a P*
 231 *eviscerated Al* : *eviscorated F*
 243 *the M, P* : *the / the F*
 252 *imprints*] *he imprints P*
 257 *Exposititious*] *Expositions P*

NOTE. The *N.E.D.* explains "That has been exposed" from Latin *expositicius*, and quotes this as the only recorded example of the word.

LINE

- 261–262 these Blew-Coats ... those Scarlet Gowns] Note. The boys of Christ's Hospital, which was a charity school, were known as "blue-coat boys" from their long blue gowns. The Lord Mayor and the Aldermen, who were also present at this service, would be wearing their scarlet gowns.
- 265 *mg.* Psal. 118.23 *P* : Psal. 118.22 *F*
268 though ... done it] *om. M, P*
- 273 *Mardoche*] Note. The Vulgate has "Mardochæus" in Esther 2.5, 7, etc., where A.V. has "Mordecai."
- 273–274 takes ... wipes ... writes] take ... wipe ... write *P*
282 evil *F corr.* : *Egypt F originally* (but "evil" in catchword)
285 accent *Al* : account *F*
292 Steward] he is the Steward *P*
294 our sinful] *om. M* : our *P*
328 *illud*] *et illud M, P*
332 unto] to *M, P*
334 like unto *Oreb*, like unto *Zeeb*] *om. M, P*
335 *Salmana*] *Zalmunna P*
Note. *Salmana* is the Vulgate form, *Zalmunna* that of the A.V. Here and in several other places *P* tries to emend by substituting the reading of A.V. (see lines 1012, 1071).
- 338 an everlasting] a *M, P*
342 waves]
Note. The meaning here is 'waives,' but the spelling "wave" for "waive" is recorded by *N.E.D.* as in use from the fifteenth to the nineteenth century.
- 354 to say] say *M, P*
370 *sibi*] *om. M, P*
374 says] sayth *M, P*
376 enterprisest : enterprisest, *F*
379 *mg.* Joh. 13.15 *M, P* : Ja. 13.15 *F*
381 *you*] yee *M, P*
382 *mg.* Phil. 3.17 *P* : Phil. 3.13 *F*
385 Apophthegms : Apoththegms *F*
389 *Shidrachs*] *Shadrachs P*
393 and what profit] *om. M, P*
398–399 that Direction *M, P* : their Direction *F*
401 get] attain *M, P*

LINE

410 that] of that *P*411 and] and the *P*420 inintelligible *P* : in intelligible *M* : unintelligible *Al* :
intelligible *F*

NOTE. The reading of *F* is clearly wrong. We believe that the “inintelligible” of the MSS is Donne’s wording, though *N.E.D.* does not record the word. It records, however, “ininvestigable” on the strength of a single example from T. Wright (1604), and “in-industrious” from Donne, *LXXX Sermons*, p. 728.

422 then] then that *P*424-425 knowing] *om. M, P*428 Spawn] spunge *P*439 without : whithout *F*442 *Martyr* : *Marter F*

447 darkness]

NOTE. *F* has a blank line after this paragraph, and also after lines 502, 513, 730, and 799.

460 Creation] making *M, P*460 particular] some particular *P*462 what all] what stufte all *M, P*462 stuff *F, corr.* : stuff; *F originally*463 themselves] they themselves *P*464 Creature it self] Creatures themselves *P*464 was] were *P*466 said, : said *F*472 in the School : in School *F*472 *indicatus*] *Indicatus P*486 in the] in *M, P*507 ill serpent] ill serpent too *M, P*524 Consideration] Significance *M, P*528 this,] this second *P*535 *Illuxit, he shines]*

NOTE. We should expect *Lucet* here, as in the margin opposite line 544 below.

535 shines *F corr.* : shine *F originally*535-536 evidence, Manifestation] manifestation and evidence *P*552 too narrow a] a narrow *P*553 but] *om. P*

LINE

- 555 but subordinate] subordinate *M*
 573 Almighty] *om. M, P*
 575 *mg.* Act. 2.3 *P* : Act. 2.2 *F*
 575-576 into the Apostles] *om. P*
 577 *mg.* Act. 9.3 : Act. 9.4 *F*
 582 we heare *M, P* : we he hear *F*
 584 separate : separate *F*
 589 being instructed in] *om. P*
 590 thunder, and lightning] lightning and thunder *M, P*
 598 *mg.* *Mundo P* : *om. F* : *M* supplies *Mundo* in *mg.* opposite
 line 602
 611 Tropique] Zenith at the Tropique *M, P*
 615 shin'd out sufficiently] sufficiently shined out *P*
 617 *Lex Lux*, says *David*]
 NOTE. Donne seems here to have confused *Proverbs* 6.23, where
 the Vulgate has "lex lux," with *Psalms* 119.105. where *Lex* is
 not mentioned.
 623 show'd] shined *P*
 627 *mg.* *Nobis M, P* : *om. F*
 632 that that] if that *M* : that the *P*
 632 us, as] us *M, P*
 636 ingeniously] ingenuously *Al*
 652 re-admitting] admitting *M, P*
 660 *mg.* *Vobis P* : *Nobis M* : *om. F*
 NOTE. *Vobis* is preferable, as we have already had *Nobis* as a
 heading for the preceding paragraph.
 668 his to] his Eares to *M, P*
 690 makes Witches *P, Al* : make Witches *F*
 693 upon] on *M* : in *P*
 702 *Terram* : *terram F*
 711 *mg.* Gen. : Geu. *F*
 713-714 to speak ... *Jerusalem*] *om. M, P*
 715-716 to speak ... heart] *om. M, P*
 723 faints] faynt *P*
 725 possessed] possesse *M, P*
 736 Parents, in their intention and purpose, dedicate : Parents ...
 dedicates *F*
 741-742 that ... that] the ... the *P*

LINE

- 750-751 it is . . . preaching] *om. P*
- 757 *opportunè & importunè P* : opportune, and importune *F*
 NOTE. The Vulgate of *2 Tim. 4.2* which is quoted here “*Prædica verbum: insta opportune, importune.*” *P* indicates that the words are Latin by writing them in larger characters. This is one of the recognized ways of italicizing in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century MSS. *M* does not attempt to italicize.
- 757-758 *opportunè . . . importunè* : opportune . . . importune *F*
- 766 *opportunè . . . importunè P* : opportune . . . importune *F*
- 768 have it done] heere us *P*
- 773 *adorantem P, Al* : *odorantem F*
- 776 nor the . . . purpose] *om. M, P*
- 778 *Religiosius P* : *Religiosus M* : *religiosius Al* : *Religio tuis F*
- 784 a holy] an holy *P*
- 791 *importunè P* : importune *F*
- 794 no approach . . . change] *om. P*
- 796 fortunes] fortune *P*
- 801 example] Examples *P*
- 801-802} *Mat. 5. P* : *Mat. 15. F, M*
mg.
- 807 show] show by that light *P*
- 815 not] noe *P*
- 818 *videam Al* : *vidiam F*
- 822 except] unless *M, P*
- 823 callings are *P* : calling are *M* : callings is *F*
- 826-828 He were . . . truly to] *om. P*
- 828 *Premunire*] *Præmunire P*
 NOTE. The *N.E.D.* records the form “*Premunire*” from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century, though Donne generally uses “*Præmunire*.”
- 834 *Sacerdotis] clerici M, P*
- 837 other men] others *M, P*
- 839 *Ecclesiam* : *Ecclæsiam F*
- 841 are] *om. M*
- 851 ingenuously] Ingeniously *P*
- 854 assiduously] assiduously *F*
- 858-859 *nostra*, our inheritance; and *Pax nostra*, our peace] *nostra*, and *Pax nostra*, our Inheritance and our Peace *P*

LINE

864 *Colossians]*

NOTE. This is a curious slip on Donne's part, for the text on which he was preaching was taken from St. Paul's second Epistle to the Corinthians, not from that to the Colossians.

873 *then]* *om. M, P*880 *altogether]*

NOTE. This form was used in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries where we should now write "all together."

880 *Clerum]* *Clericum P*882 *your selves M, P* : *you selves F*883 *syndicate]* *vindicate P*884 *Gregory P* : *G. F*885 *in]* *in the M*887 *that]* *om. M, P*888 *though]* *soe P*888 *at the M, P* : *at F*889 *absunt P* : *ab sunt F*889 *that Father]* *St. Augustine P* : *St. Austine M*927 *said]* *spoken M*928 *light]* *light out of darknesse P*930 *mg.* 2 Cor. 4.4 : 1.14 *F*932 *just]* *om. M, P*933 *altercation]* *alteration P*936 *those]* *om. M, P*

942 *and expresly and literally]* *and literally and expressly M* : *om. P*

943 *and]* *and as M*944 *interpunction]* *interpretation P*

NOTE. "Interpunction" means 'punctuation.' The scribe of *P* apparently did not know the word, and substituted the easier reading "interpretation." Earlier, in line 883 he substituted "vindicate" for "syndicate," which in that passage meant 'to judge, to censure,' and so ruined the meaning.

946 *is, the]* *is, say they, the M, P*947 *the men]* *the man P* : *man M*952 *really, positively]* *positively, really M, P*953, 954, } *excæcation]* *execution M, P*

963 }

956 *nolentis]* *volentis M*

LINE

- 961-962 but . . . darkness] *om. M, P*
 965 *out of M, P* : *of F*
 966 *hath shin'd*] shines *M*
 969 see : see, *F*
 971 therefore] *om. P*
 974 says : says, *F*
 985 we see] *om. P*
 986 Ring, a Ring] ring *M, P*
 1004 *Ephphatha* : *Ephptata F* : *Ephthata M* : *Ephata P*
 NOTE. We have used the Aramaic form, as found in A.V., which
 is a transliteration of the Greek text.
 1011 now] *om. M*
 1012 commanded light out] hath commanded light to shine out *P*
 1017 nor occasionally, not] or occasionally, nor *M*
 1022 of] a *M, P*
 1023 that a] a *M, P*
 1023 fluid : flui'd *F* : fluxed *P*
 1027 saw] sayde *P*
 1048 is] was *M*
 1051- } the evidence of] *om. M*
 1052 }
 1061 of this : *of this F*
 1064 of : of, *F*
 1067 that first, our branches] the first of our branches *P*
 1070 *Inchoative* : *Inchoative F*
 1071 this . . . this] the . . . the *P*
 1071 *Christ Jesus*] Jesus Christ *P*
 1072 *Consummative* : *Consummative F*
 1084 all his] his owne *P*
 1093 two] too *M*
 1093- } preach, you] Preach to you *P*
 1094 }
 1101 herein] *om. M, P*
 1108 which . . . upon all : which . . . upon all *F*
 1109 armor] whole Armor *P*
 1116 there] *om. P*
 1119 *Logos, is Ratio* : *Logos, is, Ratio F* : *Logos, as Ratio M*
 NOTE. The first comma in *F* can be defended as one of emphasis
 (see P. Simpson, *Shakespearian Punctuation*, pp. 26-30), but
 the second is clearly a printer's blunder.

LINE

- 1130 one] an *P*
- 1131-} life;... life, : life, ... life; *F*
- 1132 } 1133 contemplative life] contemplative *M, P*
- 1137 thou comest *M* : they come *F* : *om. P*
- 1137-} 1138 too neer being nothing] to neere nothing *M* : *om. P*
- 1139 Christ Jesus] Jesus Christ *P*
- 1141 God will] thou wilt *P*
- NOTE. Here again *P* has restored the reading of A.V.
- 1157 *mg.* Ps. 2.10 *P* : Ps. 2 *F*, which places the reference incorrectly
two lines lower
- 1158 for] *om. P*
- 1163-} 1164 or of] or *M* : of *P*
- 1171 so] and soe *P*
- 1178 had] hath *P*
- 1184 *mg.* Luke 2.52 *P* : Luc. 2 *F*
- 1186 but not] was ever *M, P*
- 1195 *vacante M, P* : *vocante F*
- 1196-} 1197 the knowledge, and the love] this knowledge and love *P*
- 1197 *nisi nota non possunt Al* : *non nisi nota possunt M* : *nisi nota possunt F*
- 1203 ye... ye] you... you *M, P*
- 1206 casually] easily *M*
- 1206 nor] *om. P*
- 1212 having done] doing *M, P*
- 1215 that is] that's *M, P*
- 1222 eye... flower] *om. M*
- 1223 *mg.* Esai. 16.14 : Esai 16.24 *F*
- 1226 word] world *P*
- 1232 that] the *P*
- 1237 of] of the *M, P*
- 1238 that] yett *P*
- 1242 this] there *P*
- 1246 knowledge] glory *M*
- 1252 by : hy *F*

LINE

- 1254 is] is in *P*
 1254 knowledge] notice *M, P*
 1255 of] *om. P*
 1257 we come : we Come *F*
 1257 was] is *M*
 1259 come] come not *M*
 1268 deprecate *P* : deprecate *F*
 1271 then,] *om. M, P*
 1273 glorious] Glory of the *P*
 1283 *mg.* Sap. 7 : Sap. 2 *F*
 1284-} fittest] first *M, P*
 1285 }
 1286 *mg.* Hilari : Hillari *F*
 1290 yet] yet as *P*
 1291 *mg.* Ps. 4.6 *P* : Ps. 4 *F*
 1295 presence : pretence *F*
 1296 Jesus Christ] Christ Jesus *P*
 1299 *mg.* Cyrill *P* : Cipri *F*
 1302 *nosse Al* : *nosce F*
 1304 had] hath *M, P*
 1312 are] err *P*
 1314-} Creature : Creatare *F*
 1315 }
 1315 of God] *om. M, P*
 1316 *Agbarus* : *Agabarus F*

NOTE. According to a legend narrated by Eusebius, *Eccles. Hist.* I, c. 13, Agbarus or Abgarus, toparch of Edessa, was healed of a dangerous sickness by seeing the face of Christ reflected on that of his disciple Thaddeus.

- 1317 his face] the face *M*
 1320 I, and I] and I *M, P*
 NOTE. The first "I" here is "Aye," generally spelled "I" in Elizabethan and Jacobean usage.
 1322 am] was *P*
 1330 night; : night, *F*
 1331 day] the day *P*
 1337 *mg.* *Consummativè P* : *Consummative F*
 1338 of the] of his *P*
 1339 in the] in his *P*
 1341 this is the] that is his *P*

LINE

- 1345 *reconcinnor* : *re-concinnor* *F*
 1356 *Humillimus*] *Humilis* *M, P*
 1357 some] some of my *M, P*
 1360 made, : made; *F*
 1368 that] the *P*
 1375 *mg.* *Joh.* 3.4 *M* : *Joh.* 4.3 *F*
 1377 calls all] calls all the world *M, P*
 1378 *mg.* 1 *Cor.* 15.51 *P* : 1 *Cor.* 15.57 *F*
 1383 many] many many *M, P*
 1401 *exsequens* : *exequens* *F*
 1403 to] unto *M, P*
 1421 Nature in] the nature of *P*
 1424-} that, which the rest... doe not know] more then the rest...
 1425 } know *P*
 1427 says] sayth *M, P*
 1432 distinguish] discerne *M, P*
 1432-} a respiration] an Inspiration *P*
 1433 }
 1437 which] whoe *M, P*
 1445 they all] all they *M*
 1466-} the glory... Nature, which : *the glory... Nature, which* *F*
 1467 }
 1513 *mg.* *Psa.* 45.2 : *Psa.* 45.3 *F*
 1516 when...heavens : *when...heavens* *F*
 1516-} and he...all : *and he...all* *F*
 1517 }

NOTE. The printer has carelessly used italics for the whole of this sentence, though only the phrases for which we have kept the italics are a quotation from *John* 19.30.

1522-} looks...looks : look...look *F*
 1523 }

NOTE. Compare Vol. II, No. 11, lines 93-94, where Donne uses the same comparison, "And as a well made, and well plac'd picture, looks alwayes upon him that looks upon it;..."

Notes to Sermon No. 4

- LINE
- 2 *mg.* Psal. 24.3 : Psal. 24.30 *F*
 71-72 *The Lord . . . them* : The Lord . . . them *F*
 77 *mg.* 2 Kin. 6.18 : 2 Kin. 6.17 *F* [placed against line 74 in *F*]
 84-85 *The Lord . . . Nations* : The Lord . . . Nations *F*
 85-86 *without . . . hands of* : without . . . hands of *F*
 92-93 } 3.1 : 3.2 *F*
mg. }
 92-93 *ut erudiret in iis Israelem* : *ut erudiret in iis Jerusalem F*
 NOTE. The Vulgate has "ut erudiret in eis Israelem," while A.V. reads "to prove Israel by them." "Jerusalem" is clearly incorrect, for that city did not belong to the Israelites till the time of David (see 2 Sam. 5.6-9 for its capture).
 94 Catechism : Chatechism *F*
 109 *mg.* 1 Cor. 15.54 : 1 Cor. 15.5.4 *F*
 110 Saint Paul out of *Ose*]
 NOTE. There is some confusion here. *Death is swallowed up in victory* comes from Isa. 25. 8: "He will swallow up death in victory." It is the succeeding verse (1 Cor. 15.55) "O death, where is thy sting?" which comes from Hosea 13.14: "O death, I will be thy plagues."
 110-111 *sting?* says he. : *sting*, says he! *F*
 111 *is it?* : *is it!* *F*
 113 *victory?* says he there. : *victory*, says he there! *F*
 150 rumination, : rumination *F*
 153 better. : better *F*
 178 is not, : is not *F*
 214-215 } 69.22 : 69.21 *F*
mg. }
 218 us, is : us, Is *F*
 221 *mg.* 64.5 : 64.65 *F*
 225 *nothing? . . . Prophet.* : *nothing, . . . Prophet?* *F*
 238 bed, : bed; *F*
 258-259 concupisences]
 NOTE. *N.E.D.* admits this as a sixteenth-century form.
 277 State, : State. *F*
 281 *mg.* Luke 4.23 : Luke 4.24 *F* [placed too high—line 279—in *F*]

LINE

- 281 Christ : *Chrysostom* *F*

NOTE. The marginal reference to *Luke* 4.23, where Christ uses this proverb, shows that "Christ" is meant. Evidently the MS had a contraction, perhaps "Chr." for "Christ," and either the copyist or the printer expanded this wrongly as *Chrysostom*. We have already shown in Vol. I, pp. 49-50, that the text of *F* 26 is much less reliable than that of the two earlier Folios.

- 362 cognizance. : cognizance, *F*

- 363 disguise : dignifie *F*

NOTE. The context clearly requires "disguise," and we have noted elsewhere the confusion of the two words.

- 370 *Dominum Jesum* : *Dominum Jesu* *F*

NOTE. "Jesum" is the reading of the Vulgate. Probably the MS had a contraction mark over the final "u," which the printer failed to notice.

- 425 through] thorough *Al*

NOTE. Alford's emendation is unnecessary, as "through," of which "thorough" is a variant, continued to be used as an adjective throughout the seventeenth century.

Notes to Sermon No. 5

- 30 well policed] well-polished *Al*

NOTE. This emendation is unnecessary. "Policed" here means 'Politically organized, regulated, or ordered: governed, disciplined' (N.E.D.) Cp. Florio, *Montaigne* (1634 ed.), p. 189: "Amongst the best policed and formalest nations."

- 114-149 How farre then ... other men do.]

NOTE. This passage is repeated with some verbal alterations in Donne's sermon at Whitehall, February 29, 1627/8 (Vol. VIII of our edition, No. 7, lines 70-118). We quote a few sentences from the later version: "How far is he from doing so, that never so much as considers why he was sent into this world; who is so far from having done his errand here, that he knows not, considers not what his errand was; nay knows not, considers not, whether he had any errand hither or no. But as though that God ... who when man was sour'd in the whole lump, poysoned in the fountain, perished at the chore, withered in the

LINE

root, in the fall of *Adam*, would then in that dejection, that exinanition, that evacuation of the dignity of man, and not in his former better estate, engage his owne Son, his only, his beloved Son, to become man by a temporary life, and then to become no man by a violent, and yet a voluntary death; . . . as though this God who had done so much more for thee, by breeding thee in a true Church, had done all this for nothing; thou passest through this world as a flash, as a lightning of which no man knows the beginning or the ending, as an *ignis fatuus* in the air, which does not only not give light for any use, but does not so much as portend or signifie any thing; . . ." The gist of the passage is the same throughout, but close examination shows that the later sermon has considerably filled out the passage by adding words or phrases here and there; e.g., the earlier "who for infinite millions of ages, delighted himself in himself, and was sufficient in himself" becomes in the later version "who for infinite millions of millions of generations, before any creation, any world, contented himself with himself, satisfied, delighted himself with himself in heaven, without any creatures." Thus fifteen words in the earlier sermon have become twenty-seven in the second.

There are so many of these changes that it seems that Donne did not have the fully written out version of the earlier sermon before him, but rather a series of very full notes, which he expanded at greater length in the later sermon.

The two sermons had parallel themes. They dealt with two martyrs, the present one with John the Baptist, the later with St. Stephen. In both Donne emphasized that *martyr* means *witness*, and that the true martyr must bear witness to his Lord not only in death but during his life.

186 sin, : sin *F*

214-218 for as Saint Hierome saith of *Chastitie*, *Habet pudicitia servata, Martyrium suum*, Chastity preserved is a continuall Martyrdome]

NOTE. This is repeated in the sermon on St. Stephen quoted above: "*Habet pudicitia servata Martyrium suum*, [Hierome in margin] Chastity is a dayly Martyrdome" (Vol. VIII, p. 186).

226 into : in-/to *F*. In most copies the hyphen has failed to print.

258 present. : present, *F*

LINE

267 *truths, evident* : *truths evident F*

282-} 283 } (as *Paulinus* readeſ that place) *Lividum reddo*]

NOTE. The marginal reference reads: 1 Cor. 9.27. *Paulinus* is an author whom *Donne* hardly ever quotes. Was he here using the commentary of *Cornelius à Lapide* on St. Paul's Epistles, in which on 1 Cor. 9.27 *Paulinus* is quoted as rendering the words *castigo corpus meum*, A. V. "I keep under my body," by "*Corpus lividum facio*"?

323 *mg.* 1 Reg. 2.34 : 1 Reg. 2.23 F

353 roots. : roots, F

405 but, : but, F

407 and : and F

413 increase : increase F

435 *Tenent*]

NOTE. "*Tenent*" in the sense of 'tenet, doctrine' was "apparently more used in the 17th century than *tenet*, but became obsolete about 1725" (N.E.D.).

477-478 *before God* : *before God F*

542 *Sermon.* : *Sermon, F*

567 *citation* : *ciration F*

597 *fifth to* : *fifth to F*

604-605 *from heaven...and* : *from heaven...and F*

606 *Aperire* : *Ape-/perire* [but *Ape-/rire* correctly in the catch-word] F

606 *mg.* 1 Chron. 9.27 : 2 Chron. 9.27 F

630 *no morning* : *no morning F*

638-642 *And these occasions...to us]*

NOTE. This sentence as it stands in F has no verb. We have conjecturally supplied "[arise]" in line 639.

Notes to Sermon No. 6

H'dg. *my Lord of Carlile]*

NOTE. Since James Hay, Viscount Doncaster, was not created Earl of Carlisle till September 13, 1622, and this sermon was preached on August 25, the heading anticipates his promotion by nearly three weeks. Probably *Donne* supplied it later.

LINE

55 *Iabbit* : *Nibbat* *F*

NOTE. Dr. C. A. Simpson points out that *Nibbat* here must be an error, as later in the sermon in lines 396-413, where Donne discusses the point mentioned, he writes: "so in this part, the word in the originall, is *Iabbit*, and that is *videbit*, in the *future*, *he shall see*; ... And more then see him; for *Iabbit*, is *Intuebitur*, he will behold him,..."

75 of error : of error *F*146 *mg.* 40.26 : 40.20 *F*167 *is it?* : *is it*; *F*244-245 *may...there* : *may...there* *F*269 *off* : *off* *F*298 *sheere*] *shire* *Al*

NOTE. The form "sheere" for "shire" was a recognized one from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century (*N.E.D.*), and as a pronunciation it is still in dialectical use.

328 *middle men* : *middle men* *Al* : *midde men* *F*

NOTE. The use of "middle men" in the next line shows that "midde" here must be a misprint.

333-334 *lest he steale, and take the Name of God in vaine* : *lest he steale, and take the Name of God in vaine* *F*337 *Poverty Edd. conj.* : *Proverb* *F*342 *murmuring* : *murmuring* *F*368-369 *abstulit, ...away;* : *abstulit; ...away,* *F*374 *Excecation*]

NOTE. This word, also spelled "execation," means 'the action of blinding.' It is now obsolete or archaic.

388 *Anoynt thy eyes with them* : *Anoynt thy eyes with them* *F*453 *mg.* Gen. 18.1 : Ier. 18.1 *F*470 *dosis*]

NOTE. The obsolete word "dosis," from medieval Latin *dosis* (Greek *δόσις*, giving), is found in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries with the meaning of "dose" (from French *dose*), which superseded it during the seventeenth century. Cp. H. Vaughan, *Silex Scintillans*, II, *Joy*, 5-6: "A suger'd Dosis Of Wormwood, and a Deaths-head crown'd with Roses."

473 *The Angell of the great Counsell*]

NOTE. This is the Septuagint reading of Isa. 9.6. See note in Vol. III, pp. 406-407, on Sermon 5, line 250 *mg.*

493 *to* : *Lo* *F*515 *to rule* : *to rule* *F*

Notes to Sermon No. 7

[This was the first of Donne's sermons to appear in print. Soon after its delivery on September 15, 1622, the King ordered its publication, and it was printed in quarto by William Stansby for Thomas Jones. There were three issues, in the first two of which the title page gave a wrong reference for the text. The second issue differed from the first only in correcting the misprints which had been noted in the Errata, and in the accidental omission of two marginal references. In the third issue the title page gave the correct reference for the text, and Stansby's name as printer was omitted. A new first quire of two leaves was substituted for the original A1-4, and a considerable number of trivial variants were introduced into both the outer and inner formes of F, G, and H; in fact, there seems to have been some resetting. On the other hand, sheets I and K are as in the two previous issues. We have not recorded in our list the numerous variants of the third issue in spelling, punctuation, and use of capitals, in sheets A, F, G, and H (e.g., on F4^v "Army" for "armie," "Order" for "order," "Saint" for "Saint," "words" for "wordes," and "only" for "onely"), since it is evident that these changes were the printer's and that Donne had no responsibility for them.

Our text is based on that of the first issue (which we call *Qa*), embodying the corrections made in the Errata of that issue and occasionally supplying corrections from the third issue. Within each issue there appear to be a few variants. For the first issue we have collated the Christ Church, Harvard, Huntington, and Yale copies; for the second issue the Christ Church and Harvard copies; and for the third the Christ Church, Harvard, Huntington (in *Five Sermons*), and Yale (in *Five Sermons*) copies. The collation of the American copies (largely by microfilm) was made by G. R. Potter, and the results thus produced were collated with the Christ Church copies by M. Holtby for E. M. Simpson.

In addition to its separate publication in 1622 this sermon (second issue) appeared in 1623 bound up with the sermons on *Acts* 1.8 and *John* 10.22 (Sermons 10 and 15 of the present volume of our edition) as *Three Sermons upon Speciall Occasions*, with a general title page. In the third edition (1957) of his *Bibliography of John Donne* Sir Geoffrey Keynes describes a hitherto unrecorded second issue of *Three Sermons*, of which the only known copy, like that of the first issue, is in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge. The title page has been entirely reset, and the date is given as 1624. Also the volume contains the third issue (not the second)

of the sermon on *Judges* 5.20. It again appeared in *Four Sermons* (1625) and *Five Sermons* (1626). It was not reprinted in the Folios, but it is contained in Alford's edition, Vol. VI, pp. 189-222.

Further bibliographical details can be found in Vol. I of our edition, pp. 14-15, where there is also a list of copies of each issue, in public or university libraries.]

Title *A / SERMON / VPON / THE XV. VERSE / OF THE XX.*
CHAP-/TER OF THE BOOKE / OF IVDGES / Wherein
occasion was iustly taken for the Publication / of some Reasons,
which his Sacred MAIESTIE / had beene pleased to giue, of
those Directions / for PREACHERS, which he had / formerly
sent forth. / Preached at the CROSSE the 15th. of September. /
1622. / By IOHN DONNE, Doctor of Diuinitie and Deane / of
Saint PAVLS, London. / And now by commandement of his
Maiestie / published, as it was then preached. [rule] LON-
DON / Printed by William Stansby for Thomas Jones, and
are to / be sold at his shop in the Strand at the blacke / Rauen,
neere vnto Saint Cle-/ments Church. / 1622. / Qa. b

A / SERMON / VPON / THE XX. VERSE / OF THE V.
CHAP-/TER ... [as in Qa, b] Preachers, ... [as in Qa, b]
foorth ... [as in Qa, b] Diuinitie, ... [as in Qa, b] / LON-
DON, / Printed for Thomas Jones, and are to bee sold / at his
Shop in the Strand, ... [as in Qa, b]. Qc

NOTE. For the convenience of bibliographers we have reproduced exactly the titles of these three issues, instead of normalizing consonantal "i" and "u" as we do in the text of the sermon itself.

LINE

- Dedic. } enough, *Qa Ch.Ch., Qb, Qc* : enough *Qa Harv. Hunt. Yale*
 Ep., 6 }
 32 mg. Apoc. 15.3] Apoc. 3 *Qc*
 58 *why art Qc* : *why, art Qa, Qb*
 61 *heaven Qc* : *heanen Qa, Qb*
 69 done with all *Qa Ch.Ch. Harv. Yale, Qb, Qc* : done, withall
Qa Hunt.
 106 withdrew *Al* : withdraw *Q*
 155 enough. *It* : enough, *It Q*
 163 meanes? : meanes. *Q*
 167 mg. 2 *Reg. 6.16* : 2 *Reg. 5.16 Q*

LINE

- 172 *mg.* 1 Sam. 13.5 : 1 Sam. 23.5 *Q*
 174 *mg.* Jud. 7 : Jud. 6 *Q*
 185 nay] nay, *Qb, Qc*
 210 *mg.* 1 Jo. 3.9 : 1 Jo. 3.4 *Q*
 220 *Steward Qb, Qc* : *Ste-/ard Qa originally, corr. in errata*
 226 had him doe *Qb, Qc* : had do *Qa originally, corr. in errata*
 228 *mg.* Mar. 6. 38] *om. Qb, Qc*
 251 them) : them.) *Q*
 254 *mg.* Prov. 10 : Prov. 13 *Q*
 260 action *Qb, Qc* : actions *Qa originally, corr. in errata*
 283 *Deborah*: when : *Deborah*. when *Q*
 292 there : their *Q*
 305 *mg.* 2 Reg. 23.29 *Qa, Qc* : *om. Qb*
 341 *mg.* Apoc. 18.23 *Qa, Qc* : *om. Qb*
 345 is... disposed *Al* : ... disposed *Q*
 358 not so : notso *Q*
 362 calumny *Qb, Qc* : columny *Qa originally, corr. in errata*
 365 grandchild : gran-/child *Q*
 392 *downe*, : *downe Q*
 411-412} Mar. 12.43 : Mar. 12:41 *Qa Yale* : *om. Qa Ch.Ch. Harv.*
mg.} *Hunt., Qb, Qc*
 431 ships? : ships; *Q*
 465 *mg.* 1 Cor. 14.40 *Qa Yale* : *om. Qa Ch.Ch. Harv. Hunt. Qb, Qc*
 472 *mg.* Part 2 *Qa Yale* : *om. Qa Ch.Ch Harv. Hunt., Qb, Qc*
 473 *mg.* Division *Qa Yale* : *om. Qa Ch.Ch. Harv. Hunt., Qb, Qc*
 490 *Beati* (in catchword of *Q*) : *Beatie Q*
 491 who : *who Q*
 507-508 meet,... *Crepusculis.* : meet.... *Crepusculis, Q*
 508 in *Crepusculis* : in *Crepusculis Q*
 524 *Satisfaction*] *Satisfaction Qc*

NOTE. From this point onward the whole of signature F seems to have been reset in *Qc*, and in consequence a large number of minor alterations have been introduced, such as "reades" for "reads," "Stars" for "starrs," etc. These will not be recorded here except where the reading of *Qc* seems to be a correction of *Qa*, *Qb*.

599-600 *Evangelizavero*] *Elivangelizavero Qc*
 611 *de Baptismo* : *de Baptissimo Q*
 615 preached *Qc* : *preached Qa, Qb*
 619 *mg.* Apoc. 12.4 : Apoc. 12.3 *Q*

LINE

- 621 silenced...magnifie *Qc* : Silenc'd...Magnifie *Qa, Qb*
 625 a Head *Qc* : a Head *Qa, Qb*
- 647 *mg.* Cant. 6.4 : Cant. 6.3 *Q*
- 670 *you*] *yee Qc*
- 671 *Inordinate*, as the *vulgar* reads]
 NOTE. Should we read *Inordinatè* here, to correspond with *Inquietè* in line 672?
- 677 *mg.* Psal. 51.17 : Psal. 51.7 *Q*
- 683 met, *Qc* : met *Qa, Qb*
- 689-690 à *Præbendo* ... à *Præbenda* *Qc* : a *Præbendo* ... a *Præbenda*
Qa, Qb
- 733 *Charles* : *Charls Q*
- 762 devolvd : devold *Q*
- 776 Conventicles] Conventicle *Qc*
- 784 scarce] scarce *Qc*
- 789 supplicated] supplicated *Qc*
- 793 Reformation, *Qa Yale, Qb, Qc* : Reformation *Qa Ch.Ch. Harv. Hunt.*
- 797 time. For *Qa Yale, Qb, Qc* : time, for *Qa Ch.Ch. Harv. Hunt.*
- 802 herein, *Qb, Qc* : herein. *Qa*
- 809 Reverend *Qc* : Reverend *Qa, Qb*
- 816 Majestie,] Majestie *Qc*
- 851 *propugnatorem Qa Yale, Qb, Qc* : *prepugnatorem Qa Ch. Ch. Harv. Hunt.*
- 852 *e luto statuam Qa Yale, Qb, Qc* : *eluto statuam, Qa Ch.Ch. Harv. Hunt.*
- 852 *fingit? : fingit. Q*
- 863-864 *Abundaries*]
 NOTE. This obsolete word means 'an overflowing source, a fountainhead,' and *N.E.D.* quotes its use here as the only known example.
- 884 says *Qa corr. in errata, Qc* : say *Qa originally, Qb*
- 917 propose, *Qb, Qc* : propose. *Qa*
- 918 lower times] later times *Al*
- 946 Idolatrer]
- NOTE. This form with “-trer” was the usual one (from Greek *εἰδωλο-λάτρης*) till the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when the modern form with “-ter” began to appear. Donne uses the earlier form in his *Devotions* (1624, first edition), p. 523: “...the present execution of manifest *Idolatres*.”

LINE

948 servants] servant *Qc*949 *Iesus?* : *Iesus. Q*966 *leave* : *learne Q*

NOTE. A.V., following the Greek and the Vulgate, has *leaving*, and in the next sentence Donne writes: "Not leave at them; but yet not leave them out."

972 necessary : ncecessary *Q*974 Man, : Man; *Q*1014 *Homelies]*

NOTE. This spelling, which is nearer to the French *homélie*, from which the word is derived, was common from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century.

1082 himselfe : himfelfe *Q*1096 *mg.* 1 Cor. 15.41] 1 Cor. 15.14 *Qc*1113 which : Which *Q*

Notes to Sermon No. 8

11 so : *so F*23 *and the* : *and the F*44 like : *life F*89 both; : *both, F*107 ignorance. : *ignorance, F*108 *Christian* : *Chri/shian F*134 weake : *weake, F*165 *mg.* 8.14 : 8.13 *F*182 *the* : *the F*182 *mg.* Luke 2.9 : Luke 2.8 *F*199 *were they?* : *were they; F*203 *seen Christ* : *seen Christ F*272 *mg.* Melch. Canus : Melchilanu*s F*

NOTE. No such author as "Melchilanu*s*" can be found in the encyclopaedias, but Donne quotes Melchior Canus on the subject of Apocryphal books of Scripture, and calls him "a good Author in the Roman Church" (Vol. VIII of our edition, p. 135).

273 *Roman* : *Romam F*293 *Hieronymi* : *Hiero. F*

- LINE
- 296 *Hierom.* Now : *Hier.* now *F*
 302 every *Al* : very *F*
 363 *Chrysostomes* : *Chrystomes F*
 385 thee, which : thee, (which *F*
 434 beleeve, : beleeve *F*
 449-452 *in conscientiâ...in conscientiâ* : *in conscientiâ...in conscientiâ F*
 482 of the Holy Ghost : *of the Holy Ghost F*
 518 *mg.* Mark 1.3 : Mark 1.2 *F*
 518 *to make* : to make *F*
 597 *mg.* Exo. 24.18 : Exo. 24.29 *F*
 598 *mg.* Deut. 32.49 : Deut. 32.42 *F*
 606 Christ, *F* in *catchword*; Christ at top of next page
 614 *mg.* 10.8 : 20.8 *F*
 711 *Preaching*, : *Preaching F*
 730 and : atd *F*
 741 *He was* : *He was F*
 745-746 *Augustine* : *Augstine F*
 811 *loose?* : *loose. F*
 840 *in* : *in F*
 849 *the Spirit* : *the Spirit F*
 849 *mg.* Luke 4.18 : Luke 4.16 *F*
 851 *deliverance* : *deliveranc F*
 881 *pœnitere.* : *pœnitere? F*
 910 *one another* : *one another F*

Notes to Sermon No. 9

- Prayer, } *Lievtenant...Lievtenant*]
 21 }
 NOTE. *Lieutenant* is frequently spelt as *Lieftenant* or *Lievtenant* from the fourteenth to the eighteenth century. (See *N.E.D.*)
- Prayer, } *thereof*, : *thereof; F*
 29 }
 Sermon, }
 55 *mg.* } *Ezek.* 2.10 : *Ezek.* 2.20 *F*
 67 700 yeare] seven hundred years *Al*
 NOTE. "Year" was used both for singular and plural up to the eighteenth century. Cp. Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, V, i, 183: "He will last you some eight yeare, or nine yeare."

LINE

82-83 dispute not now *Al* : dispute now *F*95 Kingdome, : Kingdome *F*164 he gave them : he have them *F*168 *Siloh*] *Shiloh Al*

NOTE. In *Gen.* 49.10 the Vulgate has "qui mittendus est" and A.V. "Shiloh." In other passages where A.V. has "Shiloh," such as *Jos.* 18.1, 8, 1 *Sam.* 1.3, the Vulgate has the form "Silo." *Siloh* here seems to be a cross between the two forms.

234 *mg.* Ezek. 16.13 : Ezek. 16.3 *F*244 transportation *Al* : transportition *F*256 *kingdom*, for : *kingdom* for *F*264 *Tuscany* : *Tuscan F* : *Tuscany Al*270 Pope *Al* : Hope *F*334 *mg.* Luke 19 : Luke 14 *F*437 *mg.* 2 Reg. 23 : 2 Reg. 25 *F*475-476 *God gives his people for old shoes*]

NOTE. This is italicized as if it were a Scriptural quotation, but the concordances do not contain such a passage. It may be a confused recollection of *Amos* 2.6, where it is not God, but the wicked, who sell the poor for a pair of shoes. The second part of the quotation, *sells them for nothing*, is from *Psa.* 44.12.

549-550 *Be faithfull unto him, and speake good of his Name*]

NOTE. A.V. has "Be thankful unto him, and bless his name." Donne appears to be using the Prayer Book version, "Be thankful unto him, and speak good of his Name," but the substitution of "faithfull" for "thankful" seems to be deliberate. as below in lines 551-552 Donne has "we are not *faithfull*, if we doe not speake good of his Name."

559 Concubine : Concubins *F*562 *Consider...minde* : Consider...minde *F*584 rests : rest *F*614 *and the* : and *the F*631 *mg.* 1 Cor. 7.40 : 1 Cor. 7.44 *F*644 in : in *F*682 *We* : We *F*719-720} Iob 30.8, 9 : Iob 30.1 *F*
mg.}721-722 *Seminatores verborum*]

NOTE. In *Acts* 17.18, which is here quoted, the Vulgate reads "seminiverbius" for the word translated "babbler" in A.V.

LINE

- 743-744 } Gen. 28.17 : Gen. 28.18 *F*
mg.
- 745 slept : stept *F*
- 772-773 } Judg. 9.14, 15 : Judg. 9.8 *F*
mg.
- 785 That : *Thai F*
- 852 *Corruption* : corruption *Al* : *Correction F*
 Note. Alford is obviously right in his emendation, for "corruption" is the word in *Psa. 16.10* (also in *Acts 2.27* and *13.35*, where this psalm is quoted).
- 860 *Moses non taliter*, etc.]
 Note. The closest approach to this quotation is in *Psa. 147.20*, where the Vulgate reads "Non fecit taliter omni nationi," but since Donne specifically mentions Moses, he may perhaps have been thinking of *Deut. 33.29* "Who is like unto thee, O people! saved by the Lord," or some similar passage in the Pentateuch.
- 895-896 righteousnesse : righteousnessc *F*
 Note. This is an example of the printer's error known as "foul case." There are several other examples of "c" for "e" in this volume, which will not be recorded separately.
- 954 Crown, : Crown: *F*
- 983 Churches : Chuches *F*

Notes to Sermon No. 10

[This sermon was first printed in quarto in 1622 (*Q1*) by Augustin Matthewes for Thomas Jones. The second edition (*Q2*) was produced in 1624 by the same printer and publisher. It has the same number of leaves as in *Q1*, but the distribution of the text of the sermon and prayer on the pages is slightly different. The two editions vary a great deal in spelling, punctuation, capitalization, and the use of italics. Each contains misprints that the other does not; and the second corrects in the text the errata which are found on page 49 of the first. The punctuation is, on the whole, slightly heavier in the second edition than in the first. No changes are of the kind that would indicate that Donne himself made them. It is possible, of course, that he may have had a share in correcting misprints, but it is much more likely that all the numerous changes were made at the press. We have therefore based our text on *Q1*, while correcting from *Q2* its occasional misprints and errors of punctuation.

For details about differences in the title pages, and for a list of the distribution of copies of the two editions, we refer readers to pp. 15-17 of our Bibliographical Introduction in Volume I of our edition. In the following textual notes we do not record differences of spelling or punctuation which do not affect the sense, as there are several hundred of these.

Our text is based on the copy in the library of Christ Church, Oxford, collated with microfilms of the copies in the libraries of Harvard and Yale universities and of the Huntington Library. For readings of *Q2* we have used microfilms of the same three American libraries together with the copy of *Five Sermons* in Merton College Library, Oxford.

This sermon was not reprinted in the Folios, but it was reproduced in a modernized form by Alford, VI, 223-243, and in the original spelling by Keynes in *Ten Sermons*, 1923.]

Title *A / SERMON / VPON / THE VIII. VERSE OF THE I. CHAPTER OF THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES. Preach'd / To the Honourable Company of the VIRGINIAN PLANTATION. / 13° Nouemb. 1622. / BY IOHN DONNE Deane of St. Pauls, London. [rule] LONDON. / Printed by A. MAT: for THOMAS IONES and are to [sic] sold at his Shop in the Strand, at the blacke Rauen, neere vnto Saint Clements Church. 1622. Q1*

A / SERMON / VPON / THE EIGHTH / VERSE OF THE FIRST / CHAPTER ... [as in Q1] Deane of Saint Pauls, LONDON, [rule] LONDON, / Printed for Thomas Jones. 1624. Q2

NOTE. In some copies, such as those in Lincoln's Inn, and Dr. Williams' Library, London, also in the Huntington Library, and in one of the two in the Harvard Library, "EIGHT" appears for "EIGHTH" and "VERE" for "VERSE."

LINE	
Dedic.	<i>man,] man Q2</i>
Ep., 2	<i>man,] man Q2</i>
4	<i>Meditations Q2 : Meditations Q1</i>
9	<i>yours: Q2 : yours,; Q1</i>
Sermon,	<i>22.] Two and Twentie Q2</i>
1	<i>Words, Q1, Q2 Harv. Mer. : Words Q1, Q2 Hunt. Yale</i>

LINE

- 5 Beloved, *Q₂* : Beloved *Q₁*
 6 uttermost *Q₂* : uttermonst *Q₁*
 7 *Acts Q₂* : *acts Q₁*
 9 *Red Sea Q₂* : *red Sea, Q₁*
 12 occupation;] occupation: *Q₂ Hunt. Yale* : Occupation:
Q₂ Harv. Mer.
 12-13 redemption] redemption *Q₂ Hunt. Yale* : Redemption
Q₂ Harv. Mer.
 16 kinds] kindes *Q₂ Hunt. Yale* : kinds *Q₂ Harv. Mer.*
 20 *Shipwright*, : *Shipwright Q_q*
 41 *West*;] *West?* *Q₂*
 45 the word, : the word *Q_q*
 54 *kingdome Q₂* : *kindome Q₁*
 72 your selves *Q₂* : you selnes *Q₁*
 93 in that] in the *Q₂*
 94 *mg.* Mat. 18.1 : Mat. 1.81 *Q_q*
 97 too *Q₂* : to *Q₁*
 99 *mg.* Athanas. : *Athanaz. Q₁* : *om. Q₂*
 103 So : so *Q_q*
 109 hand-fast] hand fast *Q₂*, *Al*
 NOTE. *N.E.D.* gives several instances of “handfast” or “handfast,” meaning ‘firm hold or grip with the hands,’ e.g., Bull (1615), *Luthers Comm. Ps. Grad.*, 30: “By faith to lay sure handfast on Gods eternal mercy.”
 111 undeterminable *Edd. conj.* : underminable *Q_q*, *Al*
 NOTE. “Underminable” is a word never used elsewhere by Donne, as far as we know, whereas “undeterminable” is frequently used by him in the *Sermons*; e.g., “the undeterminable torments of hell” (Sermon 13 of this volume, line 578). *N.E.D.* explains “underminable” as ‘capable of being undermined,’ and gives for it only the present example from Donne, and a passage from C. Nesse, *Antidote against Popery* (1679): “Seated upon a rock that is unaccessible and not underminable,” where the word is used in its literal sense. To us it seems that “undeterminable” makes better sense in the present passage, where the point seems to be the persistence of worldly considerations, and it provides a typical play upon words in conjunction with “determines” which follows.
 119 there *Q₁* corr. in *errata* : three *Q₁* originally, *Q₂*

LINE

- 126 to the *Q1 corr. in errata*, *Q2* : co the *Q1 originally*
 140 *independency* : *inde-/pency* *Qq*
 167 ledd] lead *Q2*
 180 imagin'd : im-/makin'd *Qq*
 183-184 *Sabbatismus Al* : *Sabatismus Qq*
 Note. *Sabbatismus*, 'a keeping of the Sabbath,' is a Latin word derived from the Greek, and is found only in such authors as St. Augustine and St. Jerome.
 203 godly *Q2* : goly *Q1*
 216 hedg'd *Q2* : hedgd *Q1*
 225 meant *Q2* : ment *Q1*
 228 multiplying *Q2* : mul-/plying *Q1*
 236 *Beare-whelpes Q2* : *Bearewhelpes Q1*
 244 *Inclusive Q2* : *Iuclusine* [turned "n" and "u"] *Q1*
 244 equivalent : equivolent *Qq*
 251 yet; *Q1 corr. in errata*, *Q2* : yet? *Q1 originally*
 260 Saint *Q2* : Saint *Q1*
 267 Jawes : Iawes] Lawes *Q2*
 283 *Rhetorique Q2* : *Retorique Q1*
 290 you. Wee *Q2* : you. we *Q1*
 314 whatsoever *Q2* : whatsoeur *Q1*
 346 *Commerce Q2* : *Comerce Q1*
 346 formerly *Q2* : formerly, *Q1*
 360 crouches] Crutches *Q2, Al*
 Note. *N.E.D.* gives "crouch" as a variant from "crutch" in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Cp. *Florio* (1611), "*Gruccin*... a lame mans crouch or crutchet."
 374-375 so intestable, hee *Q1 corr. in errata*, *Q2* : so intestable so, hee *Q1 originally*
 377 because *Q2* : because *Q1*
 395-396 purchased] du-/chased *Q2* [the apparent "d" is really a turned "p"]
 412 *Governours Q2* : *Govenours Q1*
 412 greatest *Q2* : grearest *Q1*
 428 affections : Affections *Q2* : affection *Q1*
 431 *Ninetie Q2* : *Ninteie Q1*
 441-442 whose...did,] (whose...did) *Q2*
 444 You, who...too, must] You (who...too) must *Q2*
 445 to seale *Q2* : to Seale *Q1*
 454, 457 that's] that's *Q2*

LINE

- 459 then *Iudæa* *Q*2 : the *Iudæa* *Q*1
 471 *Scismatiques*]
 NOTE. *N.E.D.* records various forms with "Sci-" from Old French *scismatique* as in use from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century. The altered spelling with "Schi-" came into use both in French and English at the end of the sixteenth century.
- 471 times. *Q*1 [at top of page, but "times," in catchword], *Q*2
Harv. Mer. ("times" in catchword) *Hunt. Yale*
- 475 *lyes, Q*2 : *lyes Q*1
- 480 *mg.* *Mat. 4.9* : *Mat. 4.10 Qq*
- 497-498 *quaestiones Q*2 : *questiones Q*1, *Al*
- 506 yet beare *Q*1 corr. in *errata*, *Q*2 : yet, yet beare *Q*1 originally
- 534 *mg.* *Luc. 2.1* : *Luc. 1.1 Qq* (placed in line 533)
- 544 *mg.* *Mat.* : *Mar. Qq*
- 557 Enemy Death] *Enemie* (Death) *Q*2
- 558 men. Further *Q*2 : men; furder *Q*1
- 571 *Apollos*] *Apollo Q*2
- 579 *Chronicles Q*2 : *Chonicles Q*1
- 584 *Emperors Q*2 : *Emporors Q*1
- 587 after) : after.) *Qq*
- Prayer, } disposition to *Q*2 : disposition to *Q*1
 618 }

Notes to Sermon No. 11

- 7, 12-13 [For] ... [For, ... dwell]

NOTE. The square brackets are in the Folio text, and do not denote an insertion. Square brackets are often used to mark off quotations in Donne's *Biathanatos* and *Essays in Divinity*. For another example of their use in the *Sermons*, cp. Vol. II, No. 10, lines 724-725, and our note on p. 435. In lines 63-68, 74-75 of the present sermon the square brackets are replaced by round ones, a more usual Elizabethan and Jacobean method of marking off quotations. See P. Simpson, *Shakespearian Punctuation*, pp. 94-95.

- 80 that is, : that is *F*

- 203 *Inhabitavit*]

NOTE. The Vulgate has a different construction. It reads: "Quia in ipso complacuit omnem plenitudinem inhabitare." Donne must have used the indicative because he was splitting up the

LINE

- text into different headings, and in the coming paragraph he wished to emphasize the fact that the fullness of the Spirit dwelt in Christ.
- 219-220 } Esay 11.2 : Esay 1, ult. *F*
mg.
- 221 *The Spirit of the Lord* : The Spirit of the Lord *F*
- 222-224 *the spirit...feare of the Lord* : the spirit...feare of the Lord *F*
- 361 and safe : and/and safe *F*
- 377 *mercy...together* : mercy...together *F*
- 392 prepared : prepares *F*
- NOTE. Since Donne has already used the past tense, "came...deprehended," and immediately afterwards uses "came," the present tense in *F* must be a slip.
- 406, 407 *in sanguine* : in *sanguine F*
- 428-429 } fo. 61 : fo. 45 *F*
mg.
- 443 Prophesie, : Prophesie; *F*
- 491 *mg.* Deut. 21.23 : Deut. 21.23 *F*
- 550-551 } 2 Sam. 14.21 : 2 Sam. 14.22 *F*
mg.
- 552 *mg.* 14.28 : 2.28 *F*

Notes to Sermon No. 12

- 55 your third *Al* : you third *F*
- 61 of debts : of / of debts *F*
- 264 an oath : a oath *F*
- 369 *mg.* *Realis]*
- NOTE. This word is not found in classical Latin, but it occurs in late Latin with the meaning 'actual.'
- 384, 385 injuries] injures *Al*
- NOTE. Alford's emendation is unnecessary. The verb "injury" from French *injurier*, from late Latin *injuriare*, was supplanted about 1600 by the modern "injure" (see *N.E.D.*), but it continued to be used occasionally in the seventeenth century.
- 434 *mg.* Colos. 2.16 : Colos. 2.17 *F*
- 534 at beginning] at the beginning *Al*

LINE

- 635 *mg.* Judg. 9.9-15 : Judg. 9.7 *F*
 641 wither *Al* : withers *F*
 735 at thy : atthy *F*

Notes to Sermon No. 13

- 65 houshold, : houshold *F*
 99 When : when *F*
 206-207 too far, as]
- NOTE. We have left the text as in *F*, but in view of the many passages in which the MSS confuse "too" and "soe," it seems quite likely that Donne may have written "soe far, as," which would suit the context better.
- 219 *Philosophandi Al* : *Philosophanti F*
 236 distressed, : distressed, *F*
 287 *Victor,* : *Victor. F*
- 329 *mg.* Ecclus. 38.21, 23 : Ecclus. 38.6 *F*
 355 dead; : dead, *F*
 503 us? : us; *F*
- 552-553 the worst Epithet, which the best Poet could fixe upon *Pluto*]
 NOTE. "The best Poet" here is Horace, and the line to which Donne refers is *Odes*, II, xiv, 6. This is quoted again in one of the sermons on the Penitential Psalms: "The learned Poet [Horace in margin] hath given some character, some expression of the desperate and irremediable state of the reprobate, when he calls *Plutonem illacrymabilem*; There is the marke of his incorrigibleness, . . . That he cannot weepe" (Vol. IX, p. 290).
- 566 Bezar] bezoar *Al*
 NOTE. In the seventeenth century the form "bezar" (from Spanish *bezar*, *bezaa*, from Arabic *bazahr* or *badizahr*) was more common than the modern "bezoar," which, however, is used by Donne in *Essays in Divinity*, ed. Simpson, p. 66: "if thou beest not Amber, Bezoar, nor liquid gold, to restore Princes; . . ." See also *Fifty Sermons*, p. 203. The bezoar stone was a calculus or concretion found in the stomach or intestines of certain animals, in particular the wild goat of Persia and various antelopes. It was used as an antidote against poison. See *N.E.D.*

LINE

- 604 that sacrifice, upon sin? : that sacrifice upon sin. *F*
 651 *mg.* Exod. 22.29 : Exod. 22.19 *F*
 682 *mg.* Mendoza]
 NOTE. In most copies the "d" has failed to print, and the next three letters are almost illegible.
 684 *in Codice* : *in Codice F*

Notes to Sermon No. 14.

- 65 writes : writes, *F*
 72 himself *Al* : in himself *F*
 112 *mg.* 2 Sam. 16.7 : 2 Sam. 16.5 *F*
 163 continuall assistance : continuall assistance *F*
 197-198 to which he . . . vouchsafes to set to the great seale]
 NOTE. In the seventeenth century "set to" was used in the sense of 'affix.' See *N.E.D.*
 427 our bodies : our bodie *F*
 NOTE. "Our soules" in the parallel clause just below demands "our bodies" here.
 523 *mg.* Iohn 3.3 : Iohn 2.3 *F*

Notes to Sermon No. 15

[This sermon was printed separately in quarto in 1623 by Augustin Matthewes for Thomas Jones. It was not reprinted in the Folios, nor by Alford. Copies of it are also found in *Three Sermons* (1623) bound up with the sermons on *Judges* 5.20 and on *Acts* 1.8, and also in *Foure Sermons* (1625) and *Five Sermons* (1626). For bibliographical details see our Introduction in Vol. I of the present edition, pp. 17-18. In preparing our text G. R. Potter collated the microfilms of the Harvard copies (one published separately, the other in *Five Sermons*), the Yale copies (one separate, the other in *Five Sermons*), and the Huntington copies (one separate, the copy presented to the Earl of Bridgewater by Donne, the other in *Foure Sermons*). M. Holtby has collated for E. M. Simpson the Bodleian copy (separate publication) and the Merton copy (in *Five Sermons*). One or two trifling variants have been recorded. In the Bodleian copy pp. 39-42 are missing.]

Title *Encænia. / THE FEAST OF DEDICATION. / CELEBRATED / AT LINCOLNES INNE, / in a Sermon there vpon Ascen-/sion day, 1623. / At the Dedication of a new Chappell / there, Consecrated by the Right Reue-/rend Father in God, the Bishop / of LONDON./ [rule] / Preached by IOHN DONNE, / Deane of St. PAVLS. / [rule] / LONDON, / Printed by AVG. MAT. for THOMAS IONES, / and are to bee sold at his Shop in the Strand at / the blacke Rauen, neere vnto Saint / Clements Church. / 1623. Q*

LINE

Prayer, } 9 diddest : diddist Q

Sermon, } 1 Psalme, : Psalme; Q

10 *nostra* : *nostrī* Q

NOTE. In most copies the word has been altered in ink to *nostra*.

19 but to] butto *Hunt.* (Bridgewater copy)

79 part]

NOTE. In the Bridgewater copy “p” and “rt” have almost failed to print.

105 *Christians* : *Christians*, Q

126 *Capite*] *Cadite* apparently, but the “d” is really a turned “p” in *Hunt.* (Bridgewater copy)

128 *mine*, : *mine* Q

149 without : with out Q

179-181 Though the grammar of these lines is confused, we have left it as in Q. Donne means that the Feast of the text was a Feast of Dedication; but, having started with the plural “Feasts,” he made an awkward transition to the singular.

191 other. For : other. for Q

230 *Rome*,) And : *Rome*, (And Q

313 *mg.* Gen. 28.22 : Gen. 28.20 Q

360 *saluberrimum* : *saluberimum* Q

403 *Augustine*, : *Augustine* Q

432 *mg.* 2 Paral. 4.7 : 2. Paral. 4.9 Q

474 *Chappell*, : *Chappell*; Q

484 *mg.* Exod. 3.5 : Exod. 35 Q

489 *in Atrio* : in *Atrio* Q